This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

OC. IND. C 674 w

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

LIBRARY

OF THE

PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN
ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

GIFT OF

The Museum

Received Oct. 18, 1946

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.
PUBLICATION 170.
ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES VOL. XII, No. 2.

THE WILD TRIBES OF DAVAO DISTRICT, MINDANAO

BY

FAY-COOPER COLE
Assistant Curator of Malayan Ethnology

The R. F. Cummings Philippine Expedition

GEORGE A. DORSEY
Curator, Department of Anthropology

CHICAGO, U. S. A.
September, 1913

Digitized by Google

Oc.Ind. 2377 w
Gift of [illegible]
Oct. 13, 1942
(Complete defective copy)

Digitized by Google

PREFACE.

The material presented in this paper was obtained, for the most part, during a stay of seven months among the tribes of Davao District in Southern Mindanao of the Philippine Islands. Previous to this I had spent a like period studying the Bukidnon, of the North-Central part of the Island, and while thus engaged, had penetrated to within about fifty miles of the Gulf of Davao. In order to trace migrations, relationships, and trade routes, it was determined to continue the work from the Gulf coast toward the interior. In pursuance of this plan I went to Davao in July, nineteen hundred and ten.

All information to be secured from publications, settlers, or natives was to the effect that there were at least fourteen distinct tribes to be met with in the Gulf region. The preliminary reconnaissance of the field made it plain that the earlier classifications were greatly at fault. Several divisions recognized as tribes were found to be only dialect groups, while others differing in no essential respects from one another secured names from the districts in which they resided. It was also found that in recent years there had been a considerable movement of the hill people toward the coast, and that in some places they had penetrated and established themselves in the territory formerly held by other tribes.

The capture of slaves, intermarriage, and trade between the groups have been powerful influences in obliterating tribal lines, thus adding further confusion to the classification of the people.

The field offered so much of interest that I determined to make detailed studies of the various tribes encountered. The work progressed satisfactorily for seven months, when a severe illness caused me to leave the tropics for a time, at least. As a result the work with the Gulf tribes is still far from complete. The tribes living on or near the upper waters of the Agusan river and north of Compostela were not visited, and, hence, will not be mentioned here, while certain other divisions received only scant attention. No attempt is here made to treat of the Christianized or Mohammedanized people, who inhabit a considerable part of the coast and the Samal Islands, further than to indicate their influence on the wild tribes. Both have settled in Davao District in historic times, and have taken many native converts into their villages. From these settlements new ideas, types of garments, and industries have spread toward the interior, while the extensive slave trade carried on by the Moro has had a marked effect on all the tribes with whom they have come in contact.

Digitized by Google

In the preparation of this paper I have, so far as possible, drawn on the knowledge of others to fill in the gaps in my own notes. In spite of this the information on certain groups is still so scanty that this can be, at best, only a sketch. It is offered at this time in the hope that it may serve as a help to other anthropologists who may plan to visit this most interesting field.

I wish here to extend my thanks to the various civil and military authorities who gave me valuable assistance; also to Captain James Burchfield, H. S. Wilson, James Irwin, Otto Hanson, William Gohn, Henry Hubbell, and Juan de la Cruz, planters, whose wide knowledge of, and acquaintance with the interior tribes made possible my work in many localities.

It is a pleasure and a duty to acknowledge the assistance rendered by my wife, who accompanied me throughout my Philippine work. Her presence made it possible to secure the complete confidence of the hill people, and thus to gain an insight into their home life which otherwise would have been impossible. A large part of the material here presented, particularly that relating to the women, was gathered by her and many of the photographs are from her camera.

The dialects spoken by the tribes of central and southern Mindanao are to be dealt with in a separate publication, so that at this time I shall merely give a brief description of the characters appearing in the native names used in this paper. The consonants are pronounced as in English, except *r* which is as in Spanish. *c* is used as *ch* in *church*. *ñ*, which occurs frequently, is a palatal nasal. There is no clear articulation and the stop is not present, but the back of the tongue is well up on the soft palate.

The vowels are used as follows:

ā like *a* in *father*

ē like *a* in *fate*

ī like *i* in ravine

ō like *o* in *note*

ū like *u* in flute

a, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, short of the above.

E is a sound between the obscure vowel *e*, as *e* in sun, and the *ur* in *burrow*.

The dipthongs are *ai* like *ai* in *aisle*, *au* like *ou* in *mouse*, or final Spanish *ao* as in *carabao*: *ei* like *ei* in *eight*, *oi* as in *boy*, also *Eu*, *eu*, etc

FAY-COOPER COLE,
Assistant Curator of Malayan Ethnology.

CHICAGO, September, 1913.

Digitized by Google

I. THE BAGOBO.

SYNONYMS:—(*a*) GUIANGA, GUANGA, GULANGA
(*b*) OBO
(*c*) TIGDAPAYA
(*d*) ETO

HABITAT.

The west coast of Davao Gulf between Daliao and Digos is dotted with small villages, the inhabitants of which are largely Bagobo who have been converted to the Christian faith and have been induced to give up their mountain homes and settle in towns. Back of this coast line rise densely timbered mountain peaks, lateral spurs from which often terminate in abrupt cliffs overlooking the sea. From other peaks extensive grass covered plains slope gently down nearly to the water's edge. Deep river cañons cut between these mountains and across the plains, giving evidence of active erosion for a long period of time. If these mountain chains and river courses are followed back it is found that they all radiate from one stupendous mass, the center of which is Mt. Apo, the highest mountain in the Philippines and reputed to be an active volcano. Near to its summit is a deep fissure from which, on clear mornings, columns of smoke or steam can be seen ascending, while the first rays of the rising sun turn into gold, or sheets of white, the fields of sulphur which surround the cone.

Along the lower eastern and southern slopes of this mountain and its tributary peaks live the wilder branch of this tribe, whose traditions, religious observances, and daily life are closely related to the manifestations of latent energy in the old volcano.

NUMBER.

The exact number who fall under this classification is not known. Governor Bolton, who was intimately acquainted with the wild tribes of the District, estimated their number at sixty-five hundred, but this count did not include the sub-division here given as Obo. One enumeration, made by a Jesuit missionary, places the population at fifteen thousand, while the Government report of 1900 gives them eighteen thousand four hundred. The latter estimates are certainly excessive. It is probable that they were determined by compiling the population of villages reported to exist in the interior.

Digitized by Google

The wilder members of this tribe are, to a certain extent, migratory, moving their villages from one location to another according to the demands of their mode of agriculture. Their rice fields are made in mountain-side clearings, and as the ever present cogon grass[1] begins to invade the open land they substitute sweet potatoes or hemp. In time even these lusty plants give way to the rank grass, and the people find it easier to make new clearings in the forest than to combat the pest with the primitive tools at their command. This results in some new fields each year, and when these are at too great a distance from the dwellings the old settlements are abandoned and new ones formed at more convenient locations.

It is probable that the total number belonging to this tribe does not exceed ten thousand persons.

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORS:—HISTORY.

The influence of the neighboring tribes and of the white man on the Bagobo has been considerable. The desire for women, slaves, and loot, as well as the eagerness of individual warriors for distinction, has caused many hostile raids to be made against neighboring tribes. Similar motives have led others to attack them and thus there has been, through a long period, a certain exchange of blood, customs, and artifacts. Peaceful exchange of commodities has also been carried on for many years along the borders of their territory. With the advent of the Moro along the sea coast a brisk trade was opened up and new industries introduced. There seems to have been little, if any, intermarriage between these people, but their relations were sufficiently close for the Moro to exert a marked influence on the religious and civil life of the wilder tribe, and to cause them to incorporate into their language many new words and terms.

The friendly relations with the Moro seem to have been broken off upon the arrival and settlement of the Spaniards in Davao. The newcomers were then at war with the followers of Mohammed and soon succeeded in enlisting the Bagobo rulers in their cause. A Chinese plate decorated with the picture of a large blue fish was offered for each Moro head the tribesmen presented to the Spanish commander. The desire for these trophies was sufficient soon to start a brisk trade in heads, to judge from the number of these plates still to be seen among the prized objects of the petty rulers.

After the overthrow of Moro power on the coast, Jesuit missionaries began their labors among the Bagobo, and later established their follow-

[1] *Imperata koenigii.*

Digitized by Google

ers in several villages. In 1886 Father Gisbert reported eight hundred converts living in five coast towns. Following the conflict between Spain and the United States, and during the subsequent insurrection, these villages were left without protection or guidance. As a result, large numbers of the inhabitants retired to the hills where they were again merged with their wilder brothers. Naturally, they carried with them new ideas as well as material objects. With the re-establishment of order under American rule many returned to the deserted villages while others were induced by Governor Bolton to form compact settlements midway between the coast and the mountain fastnesses. The influence of the Government has become stronger each year, and following the human sacrifice at Talun in 1907, that powerful village and several of the neighboring settlements were compelled to move down near to the sea where they could be more easily controlled.

Schools have been opened in some localities and these, together with the activities of Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are causing a rapid change in the life and beliefs of the tribe.

The presence of American hemp planters, with the consequent demand for laborers, is also proving an immense factor in wiping out old tribal lines and in introducing new ideas.

Beyond a few letters written by the missionaries[1] we find scant reference to this tribe in history, but their own traditions and genealogies are well known even by the younger generation.

According to the tribal historians the human race sprang from a man, Toglái, and his wife, Toglíbon, who lived on Mt. Apo.[2] "They were there from the beginning, at a point near to the present settlement of Cibolan. Many fruits grew on the mountains and the forests abounded in game so that it was easy for them to secure food. There were born to them children, who, when they grew up, married. One day Toglái and Toglíbon told their oldest boy and girl that they should go far away across the ocean, for there was a good place for them. So the two departed and were seen no more until their descendants, the white people, came back to Davao. The other children remained with their parents and were happy and prosperous until Toglái and Toglíbon died and went to the sky, where they became spirits. Soon after their death the country suffered a great drought. This finally became so severe that the water in the rivers dried up and there was no more food in the land. At last the children were forced to leave

[1] BLAIR and ROBERTSON. The Philippine Islands.

[2] See fuller account by author, in *Philippine Journal of Science*. June 1911, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 128-9.

Digitized by Google

their home and seek out new habitations in other parts. They traveled in pairs, in different directions, until they came to favorable locations where they settled down. From them have sprung all the tribes known to the Bagobo. One pair was too weak to make the journey from the drought-cursed land, and staid at Cibolan. One day the man crawled out into the ruined fields to see if he could not find some one thing alive, and when he arrived there he saw, to his amazement, a single stalk of sugar cane growing lustily. He cut it with his knife, and water began to come out until there was enough for the couple to drink. The flow did not cease until the rains came again to refresh the land. From these two the tribe has again grown until it numbers its members in the thousands. The people have remained true to their belief in the spirits, and each year has found them stronger in numbers, and richer in houses, land, and slaves."

The genealogy of the Bagobo rulers is traced back through ten generations. The first ruler of whom there is record was Salingolop, during whose reign, it seems, the Spaniards first came to the Philippines. According to the tale[1] "Salingolop" was a man of great and prodigious force, and as tall as the Lauan, which is the tallest tree in these forests. He had three sons called Bato, Sipongos, and Calisquisan, and a daughter named Panugutan. When the Spaniards arrived at Manila, and found that there existed a man so tall and powerful, they sent a battalion of soldiers. They disembarked on the shore of Bimigao near Daron, and ascended the mountain where Salingolop lived. He was not found, because at the time he was on the other side of the mountain hunting wild boars, and the soldiers returned to the shore, taking Panugutan as a hostage. Salingolop, having found out what had happened descended the mountain alone to fight the soldiers which were there. These fired on him, but in vain, because the balls could make no impression. On seeing this, they dropped their rifles and with bars of iron they struck him on the legs, trying to overthrow him. As he fell on the side towards the sea, the noise of the waves, it is said, reached to the Cape of San Augustin. They cut off his head and, as he lay dead, they cut off his legs that he might not arise again. The Spaniards returned to Manila, taking with them Panugutan; she married in Manila a Spaniard, by whom she had two children, who later returned to these parts and were well received, being considered not only as friends but as brothers of the Bagobo."

Salingolop was succeeded by his son Bato who, in turn, was followed by Boas, Basian, Lumbay, Banga, Maliadi, and Taopan. Until we

[1] Recorded by P. Juan Doyle, S. J.

Digitized by Google

come to this last mentioned ruler we learn little more of importance, but at the beginning of his rule, we learn that the Bagobo had become a powerful people. Under his leadership they made frequent forays into neighboring districts and returned with many slaves and rich loot. The *datu*[1] was noted as a brave warrior, but in addition to this he was a wise and just ruler, greatly beloved by all his people. When he died more than one thousand of his subjects attended the funeral which lasted ten days. On the last day the house was decked, inside and out, with red and yellow flowers; many valuable gifts were placed beside the corpse, and the place was then abandoned.

He was succeeded by his son Pangîlan, whose administration, like that of his father, was firm and just. Upon his death he bequeathed the leadership of a united people to his son Manib. The new *datu* did not prove to be a great warrior and his decisions in matters of dispute were not always just, so that bad blood arose between the people of Cibolan and Talun. He was unable to quell the disturbances, and finally open warfare broke out, petty chiefs of other districts throwing off his control and ruling as *datu*. This was the condition which confronted the present ruler, Tongkaling, when he found himself ruler of Cibolan.

The claims of leadership over all the Bagobo had never been relinquished, but the actual power of the *datu* outside his own district amounted to little. Tongkaling soon established his right to the name of a great warrior, and his people so prospered under his rule that upon the advent of the Americans he was much the most powerful among the several chiefs. Under the administration of Governor Bolton, Tongkaling was officially recognized as head of the Bagobo, and with this added prestige, he has finally succeeded in gaining recognition from all the chiefs except those about Santa Cruz, but his actual control over them is still very slight. He has been a consistent friend of the Americans, but has jealously guarded his people against outside influences, so that they are much less affected than those of other districts. For this reason we shall, in this paper, use Cibolan as a type settlement, but where radical differences occur in other districts they will be noted.

[1] The Moro name for chief or ruler. The Bagobo name is *lagaîmóda* or *matanem*, but the Moro term is in general use.

Digitized by Google

PHYSICAL TYPE.[1]

An idea of the general appearance of the Bagobo can best be obtained by a study of the accompanying photographs. Plates II-VIII.

Measurements were made on thirty-three men and fifteen women. The maximum height of the males was found to be 164.8 cm.; minimum 149.8 cm.; with an average of 158.6 cm. For the women the maximum was 152.8 cm.; minimum 141 cm.; average 147.3 cm.

The cephalic indices of the same individuals showed 84.5 as the maximum, 74.3 minimum, and 78.8 the average for the males. The maximum for the females was 83.1, minimum 76.2, average 80.7. The average length-height index, taken from the tragus to the vertex, of the same persons, was 69.8- maximum 75.6, minimum 65.1- for the men; and for the women 73.1- maximum 76.6, minimum 70.2-.

The face is long, moderately broad, and the zygomatic arches are seldom prominent. The forehead is high and full with supra-orbital ridge slightly developed. The crown and back of the head are rather strongly arched. The people are seldom prognathous, yet individuals are met with who are markedly so (Plate V).

The lips are full and bowed; the chin is round and well formed. The root of the nose is depressed; the ridge broad and generally inclined to be concave, although straight noses are not uncommon. The nasal wings are moderately broad and arched or swelled. The eye slits are oblique and moderately open, showing dark or brown-black eyes. The hair is brown-black and generally slightly wavy or loosely curled, while in some cases it is found curled in locks. Women comb their hair straight back and plaster it with cocoanut oil, but even this does not prevent stray locks from creeping out. Both face and body hairs are scanty and are generally removed, yet occasionally a man is seen who has cultivated a few hairs into a fair semblance of a beard.

The Bagobo, while well nourished, are inclined to be of slight build, with very narrow waists. In color they are a light reddish brown with a slight olive tinge which is more pronounced in the women than in the men.

In a brief summary, we can say that they are a short, slightly built, metsati-cephalic people, with wavy hair, long faces, and broad, full noses and lips. Individuals are met with who exhibit many of the physical characteristics of the Negrito;[2] while still others, both in color and facial lines, are comparable to the Chinese.

[1] This subject will be treated fully in a separate publication.
[2] Pygmy blacks of the Philippines.

Digitized by Google

DRESS—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

No wild tribe in the Islands gives more attention to dress than does the Bagobo. By an intricate process hemp is colored and woven into excellent garments, which, in turn, are decorated with embroidery, appliqué, or designs in shell disks and beads. The men wear their hair long and after twisting it around the head hold it in place with kerchiefs, the edges of which are decorated with beads and tassels. A close fitting undershirt is often worn, and above this is an elaborately beaded or embroidered coat which generally opens in front. The hemp cloth trousers scarcely reach to the knee, and the bottom of each leg is decorated with a beaded or embroidered band. Two belts are worn, one to hold the trousers, the other to support the fighting or working knives which each man carries. In lieu of pockets he has on his back an elaborately beaded hemp cloth bag bordered with tassels and bells of native casting. Highly prized shell bracelets, worn as cuffs by some men, are made of a large, conical sea-shell (Fig. 1) the base and interior spirals of which have been cut away. Necklaces made of rattan

FIG. 1.
SHELL BRACELET.

FIG. 2.
NECKLACE OF RATTAN OVERLAID WITH FERN AND ORCHID CUTICLE.

strips decorated or overlaid with alternating layers of fern and orchid cuticle (Fig. 2) are frequently seen, while many strands of beads and carved seeds surround the necks of both men and women. Both sexes also wear, above the calf of the leg, plaited or beaded leglets to some of which magical properties are ascribed.

The woman wears a jacket which is close fitting about the neck and reaches to the skirt, so that no portion of the upper part of the body is exposed. The cloth now used in this garment is generally secured in trade, and in recent years decoration in appliqué has begun to succeed the excellent embroidery seen on older garments. Frequently the two types of decoration are seen on the same jacket, and to these

Digitized by Google

are added complicated designs in shell or metal disks, or beads. The narrow tube skirt is of hemp cloth and is made like a sack with both ends open. At the waist it is held in place by means of a cloth or beaded belt.

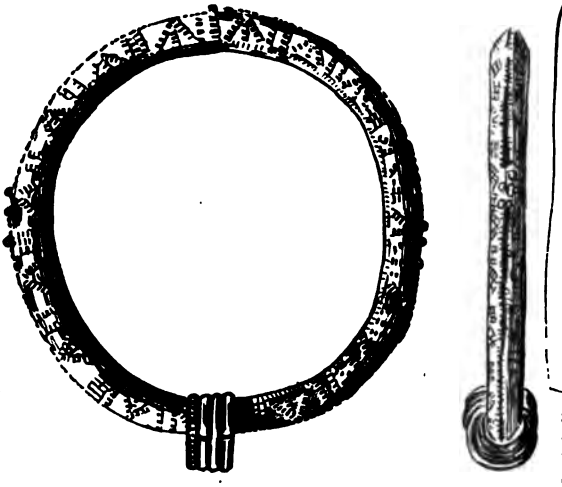


FIG. 3.
BRASS ANKLETS WORN BY THE WOMEN.

In addition to the many strands of beads which encircle the neck and fall over the chest, a broad bead band is often worn over one shoulder, passing under the opposite arm near the waist. Scarfs of colored cloth are also worn in this manner when the ladies are on dress parade. Leglets and brass anklets, made like tubes so as to enclose metal balls (Fig. 3) or with bells and rattles attached, are commonly worn. The women are fond of loading their arms with ornaments of shell or brass (Fig. 4) and one forearm is covered with separate rings

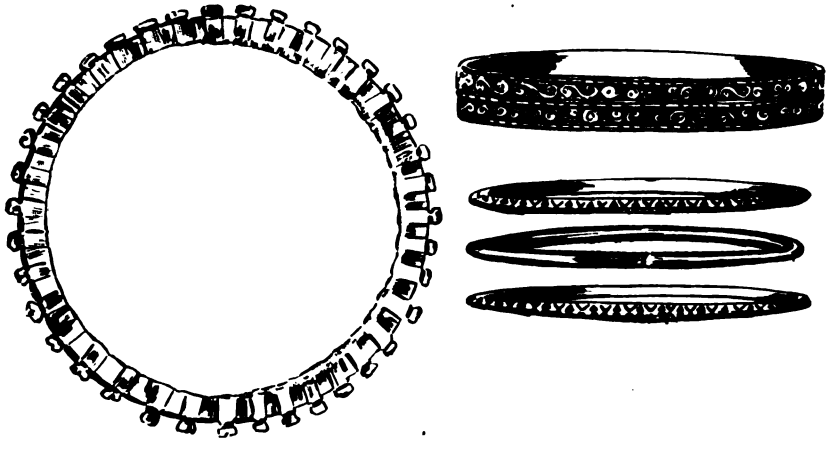


FIG. 4.
TYPES OF BRASS BRACELETS.

Digitized by Google

of incised brass wire which increase in size from the centre towards the ends, forming an ornament in the shape of an hour-glass. Their hair is generally cut so as to leave a narrow band in front; this is brushed back, but often falls forward on the face or in front of the ears. Back of this the hair is kept well oiled and is combed straight to the back of the head, where it is tied in a knot. Into this knot is pushed a wooden comb decorated with incised lines filled with lime, or inlaid with beads. On festive occasions more elaborate combs, with plumes or other decorations attached, are worn. Aside from these ornaments the head is uncovered.

Men and women are seen who have their eyebrows shaved to thin lines. This is a matter of individual taste and is done only for beauty.

Neither sex makes use of tattooing, nor do they mutilate the lips or nose, but what they lack in these respects they make up for in ear ornaments.

When a child is very young a small hole is pierced in the ear lobes, and into this opening a piece of twisted banana or hemp leaf is placed. (Fig. 5a). This leaf acts as a spring, continually enlarging the opening until the ear plugs can be inserted. Another method, sometimes employed, is to fill the opening with small round sticks (Fig. 5b),

FIG. 5.
EAR STRETCHERS.

adding more from time to time, until the desired result is obtained. The plugs worn by the women are of wood, the fronts of which are inlaid with silver or brass in artistic designs, and are connected by

Digitized by Google

strands of beads passing under the chin (Fig. 6). Large wooden ornaments are also worn by the men, but more prized are large ivory ear plugs made like enormous collar buttons (Plates II-IV). These are very rare, since the ivory for their manufacture must be secured from Borneo, and by the time it has passed through the hands of many

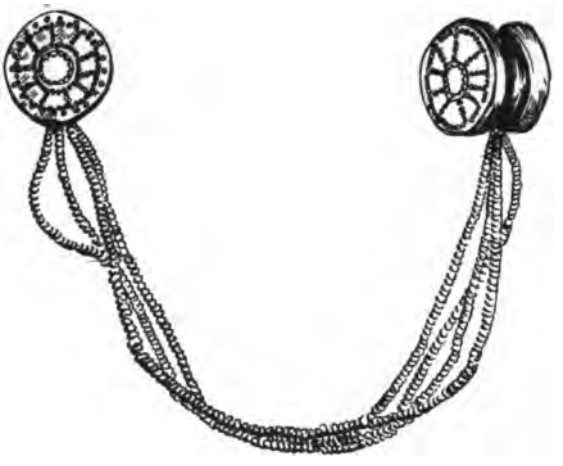


FIG. 6.
WOMAN'S EAR PLUGS.

traders it has assumed a value which limits the possession of articles made from it to a few wealthy men. A further method of ear adornment, frequently seen among the women, consists of beads sewed into a number of holes which have been pierced through the helices of the ears.

Both men and women file and blacken the teeth. When a boy or girl has reached the age of puberty, it is time that this beautifying should be done. There is, however, no prohibition to having it performed earlier if desired. The candidate places his head against the operator and grips a stick of wood between his teeth while each tooth is filed so as to leave only the stump, or is cut or broken to a point (Plate XIIa and b). When this has been successfully accomplished, what is left of the teeth is blackened.

The color is obtained in two ways. The more common method is to place a piece of metal on one end of a bamboo[1] tube, the other extremity of which rests on glowing coals. The smoke from the charring bamboo is conducted through the tube to the cold metal on which it leaves a deposit or "sweat." This deposit is rubbed on the teeth, at

[1] A variety known as *balakáyo* is used for this purpose.

Digitized by Google

intervals, for several days until they become a shiny black. A second method is to use a powder known as *tapEl* which is secured from the *lamod* tree. The writer did not see this tree but, from the description given of it, believes it to be the tamarindus. This powder is put on leaves and is chewed. During the period of treatment the patient is under certain restrictions. He may neither drink water, cook or eat anything sour, nor may he attend a funeral. Should he do so his teeth will have a poor color or be "sick." When the teeth have been properly beautified the young man or woman is considered ready to enter society.

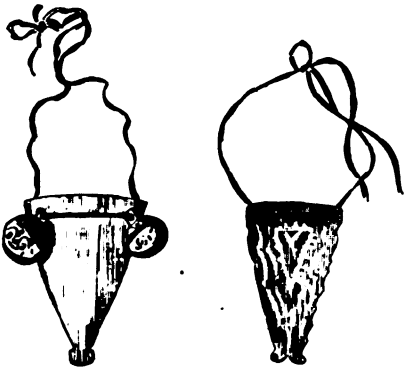


FIG. 7.
LITTLE GIRLS' PUBIC SHIELDS.

Boys run about quite nude until they are three or four years of age. Until about the same age the girls' sole garment is a little pubic shield, cut from a coconut shell and decorated with incised lines filled with lime (Fig. 7). Not infrequently bells are attached to the sides of this "garment." When children do begin to wear clothing their dress differs in no respects from that of their elders.

SKETCH OF FUNDAMENTAL RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

Although we shall treat religion more fully in a later paragraph, it is desirable that we now gain an idea of those beliefs which enter intimately into every activity of the daily life of this people.

The Bagobo believes in a mighty company of superior beings who exercise great control over the lives of men. Above all is Eugpamolak Manobo, also called Manama, who was the first cause and creator of all. Serving him is a vast number of spirits not malevolently inclined but capable of exacting punishment unless proper offerings and other tokens of respect are accorded them. Below them is a horde of low, mean spirits who delight to annoy mankind with mischievous pranks, or even to bring sickness and disaster to them. To this class generally belong the spirits who inhabit mountains, cliffs, rocks, trees, rivers, and springs. Standing between these two types are the shades of the dead who, after they have departed from this life, continue to exercise considerable influence, for good or bad, over the living.

Digitized by Google

We have still to mention a powerful class of supernatural beings who, in strength and importance, are removed only a little from the Creator. These are the patron spirits.

Guarding the warriors are two powerful beings, Mandarangan and his wife, Darago, who are popularly supposed to make their home in the crater of the volcano. They bring success in battle and give to the victors loot and slaves. In return for these favors they demand, at certain times, the sacrifice of a slave. Dissentions, disasters, and death will be sure to visit the people should they fail to make the offering. Each year in the month of December the people are reminded of their obligation by the appearance in the sky of a constellation known as *Balatik*,[1] and soon thereafter a human sacrifice doubtless takes place in some one or more of the Bagobo settlements.

A man to come under the protection of these two deities must first have taken at least two human lives. He is then entitled to wear a peculiar chocolate-colored kerchief with white patterns in it. When he has killed four he may wear blood-red trousers, and when his score has reached six he may don a full blood-red suit and carry a sack of the same color. Such a man is known as *magani* and his clothing marks him as a person of distinction and power in his village. He is one of the leaders in a war party; he is chosen by the *datu* to inflict the death penalty when it has been decreed; and he is one of the assistants in the yearly sacrifice. It is not necessary that those he kills, in order to gain the right to wear a red suit, be warriors. On the contrary he may kill women and children from ambush and still receive credit for the achievement, provided his victims are from a hostile village. He may count those of his townspeople whom he has killed in fair fight, and the murder of an unfaithful wife and her admirer is credited to him as a meritorious deed.

The workers in iron and brass, the weavers of hemp cloth, and the mediums or shamans—known as *mabalian*—are under the protection of special deities for whom they make ceremonies at certain times of the year.

The *mabalian* just mentioned are people—generally women past middle life—who, through sufficient knowledge of the spirits and their desires, are able to converse with them, and to make ceremonies and offerings which will attract their attention, secure their good will, or appease their wrath. They may have a crude knowledge of medicinal plants, and, in some cases, act as exorcists. The ceremonies which are performed at the critical periods of life are conducted by these *mabalian*,

[1] Orion.

Digitized by Google

and they also direct the offerings associated with planting and harvesting. They are generally the ones who erect the little shrines seen along the trails or in the forests, and it is they who put offerings in the "spirit boxes" in the houses. Although they, better than all others, know how to read the signs and warnings sent by the spirits, yet, all of the people know the meaning of certain omens sent through the medium of birds and the like. The call of the *limokon*[1] is recognized as an encouragement or a warning and its message will be heeded without fail. In brief, every natural phenomenon and every living thing is caused by or is subject to the will of unseen beings, who in turn can be influenced by the acts of individuals. As a result everything of importance is undertaken with reference to these superior powers.

DWELLINGS—HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

The houses found in the coast villages line well marked streets and differ in few respects from those built by the Christianized natives throughout the Islands. Even in the more isolated districts the effect of this outside influence is marked. However, we can state with confidence that village life is a new idea to the Bagobo. He has, from time immemorial, built his home near to his fields, and there he and his family reside, except during festivals or when extreme danger threatens. At such times all go to the house of the local ruler and there unite in the festivities or the common defense.

The smaller dwellings have but one room, the floor of which is raised several feet above the ground and supported by many piles. A part of the latter extend five of six feet above the floor and form supports for the side and cross-beams. From the center of the room lighter poles project eight or ten feet above the cross-beams and form the main supports for the ridge timber. From beams at the end and sides of the room similar pieces run to this central ridge; below this they are joined together, at intervals, by means of horizontal poles and cross-beams. To this framework are lashed strips of *palma brava*, supports for a covering of closely laid *runo*, on which rests the final topping of flattened bamboo. The ridge pole is always at a sufficient height above the floor to give the roof a steep peak, and is of such length that, at the top, the side roof overhangs the ends. The roof generally rises in two pitches and always extends past the sides of the room.

In house building, the roof, which is made first, is raised to the desired height, thus serving as a shelter for the workers until the struc-

[1] A dove (*Calcophops indica*). Similar beliefs held by the Tagalog were mentioned by Juan de Plasencia in 1589. See BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. VII, p. 189.

Digitized by Google

ture is complete (Plate XIII). Resting on the cross-beams, just below the rafters, a number of loose boards are laid to form a sort of attic or storage room where all unused articles, and odds and ends are allowed to accumulate.

The sides of the room, which are of flattened bamboo, are about six feet in height, and extend only to within a foot of the roof. In the walls small peep holes are cut so that the inhabitants can look outside without being seen (Plate XIV).

FIG. 8.
THE "STOVE."

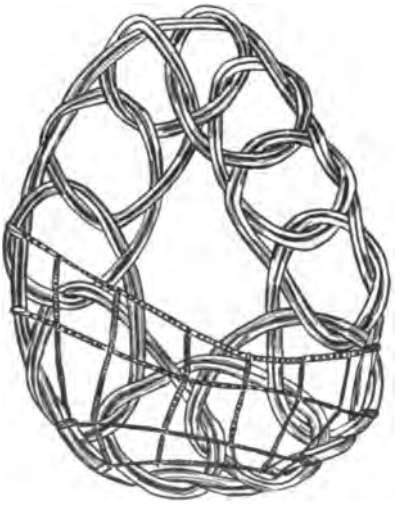


FIG. 9.
BAMBOO PLATE RACK.

The flooring, which is generally made of strips of *palma brava*, is in two levels, forming a narrow elevated platform at one end of the room on which a part of the family sleep.

The furniture of this house is very scanty. Near to the door is the "stove" (Fig. 8)—a bed of ashes in which three stones are sunk to form a support for the pots and jars—and nearby stand a few native jars and sections of bamboo filled with water. On a hanger above the fire may be found articles of food, seeds, and the like, which need protection from flies and insects. Against the wall is a bamboo rack (Fig. 9), filled with Chinese plates, or half

Digitized by Google

cocoanut shells which serve as dishes. Near to the stove is a rice mortar standing on its own wooden pedestal which reaches to the ground (Fig. 10).

FIG. 10.
A. RICE MORTAR.
B. PEDESTAL WHICH REACHES TO THE GROUND.
C. CIRCLE OF CORN HUSKS PLACED SO AS TO PREVENT GRAIN FROM FALLING OUT.
D. WOODEN PESTLE.

FIG. 11.
COCOANUT SHELL SPOONS WITH WOODEN HANDLES.

A child's cradle, made of a blanket suspended hammock-like between the wall and a beam support, will probably be found. A few boxes and jars, usually of Chinese make, and always a copper gong or two are regular furnishings, while to these can be added a miscellany of clothing, looms, spears, shields, meat blocks, spoons (Fig. 11), and the like. Akin to furniture, since they are found in every house, are little basket-like receptacles made by splitting one end of a bamboo pole into several

Digitized by Google

FIG. 12.
TAMBARA OR BASKET-LIKE RECEPTACLE IN WHICH OFFERINGS ARE MADE TO THE SPIRITS.

vertical strips and then weaving in other shorter horizontal strips (Fig. 12). These are attached to walls and supporting poles, and in them offerings are made to the various spirits.

This is our picture of a typical home. It is not a cheery place by day, for the lack of windows, as well as a fog of smoke from the open stove, makes it dark and gloomy. Nevertheless, since the house offers a cool retreat from the blazing sun, and the smoke-laden air is free from flies and mosquitoes, it is a popular resort for all members of the family during the hottest part of the day. The little light, which filters in through the many cracks in the floors and walls, is sufficient to allow the women to spin, dye, weave, and decorate their clothing, or to engage in other activities. After dark the resinous nuts of the *bitáog* tree, or leaf covered resin torches are burned, and by their uncertain light the women and men carry on their labors until far into the night. Entrance to the dwelling is gained by means of a notched log, bamboo pole, or by a ladder of the same material. As a protection against strong winds many props are placed against the sides of the house, and when large trees are available the dwellings are further secured by being anchored to them with rattan lines.

In each settlement or district will be found one large house built on the same general plan as the smaller dwellings, but capable of housing several hundred people (Plate XV). This is the home of the local *datu* or ruler. All great ceremonies are held here, and it is the place to which all hasten when danger threatens. It is the social center of the community, and all who desire go there at any time and remain as long as they wish, accepting meanwhile the food and hospitality of the ruler.

A brief description of the house of Datu Tongkaling will give a good idea of this type of structure. Except for size—the dimensions being 44 x 20 ft.—the exterior does not differ greatly from the houses already described. A long, partially covered porch leading to the doorway is provided with benches which are always occupied by men and boys, loitering or engaged in the absorbing task of lousing one another. At the far end of the room is the elevated platform, but this one is

Digitized by Google

much wider than is customary, and is intended as the sleeping place for the warriors, or illustrious guests. As the writer and his wife were considered, by the *datu*, as belonging to the latter class, they were favored with this vantage spot, from which they could view and be viewed by the whole household. Along the sides of the room are elevated box-like enclosures in which the *datu* and some of his wives and daughters sleep and keep their belongings. At night the balance of the family, including men, women, children, and dogs, occupy the floor. Midway between the side walls and near to the elevated platform are two decorated bamboo poles, which are raised in honor of the patron spirits of the warriors; while in other parts of the room are baskets, hanging altars, and other devices in which are placed offerings intended for the spirits. In addition to the customary furnishings are hundreds of objects testifying to the wealth of the *datu*. Clothes, boxes, dozens of huge copper gongs, drums, ancient Chinese jars and plates, spears and shields, beaded clothing, baskets, and last but not least—in the estimation of the *datu*—a huge enameled advertisement of an American brewery.

In the western part of the Bagobo district is a village known as Bansalan. Recently its people have been induced to leave the old settlement and build in a new location, midway between the mountains and the sea. Here the writer found a very different type of house (Plate XVIa). Small trees formed the uprights to which cross-beams were tied to make the roof supports, and on these rested a final covering of *nipa* palm. A few feet above the ground other supports were lashed and on them strips of *palma brava* were laid as flooring. In the few cases where the houses were fitted with sides, strips of *nipa* palm fastened together with rattan were used. There seemed to be no uniform type of dwelling, each house differing from its neighbor in number of rooms, floor levels, or in other respects. Only one feature, the elevated sleeping platform at one end of the house, was always found. A few miles further inland, in the old settlement, the houses are of the type already described in detail. The people have been practically forced to their new location by governmental action. The new careless type of structures seen in Bansalan probably represents, to them, temporary structures in which they expect to remain only until a change of governors will furnish an excuse for returning to the old location.

OTHER BUILDINGS.

Near to each farm house or settlement will be seen one or more granaries, in which rice is stored (Plate XIV). Four poles form the

Digitized by Google

support for a rectangular base from which the sides of the structure slope out at an angle of about 25 degrees from the perpendicular until they meet the roof. The sides and roof are of bamboo beaten flat, the latter covered with a topping of straw.

In the hemp fields is an occasional shed where the fiber is sometimes stripped, but more often these buildings, thus hidden from the public gaze, house the forges on which the smiths fashion knives and spears, or cast the bells and betel nut boxes so dear to the heart of each Bagobo.

Aside from the shrines or altars, which we shall describe later, the Bagobo erects no other buildings. He sometimes encloses a rice or cornfield with a fence, but this requires no special skill in building, since it consists of two parallel lines of uprights, between which bamboo tubes are laid to the desired height (Plate XVIb).

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION.

It is impossible, without including about everything edible in a vegetable line to be found in the district, to give a full list of foods; hence no such attempt will be made. Chief of all is the rice, many varieties of which are grown in the mountain-side clearings.[1]

Next in importance is the *camote*, or sweet potato, and then follow in the order of their importance: corn, banana, sago and cocoanut.

Fish, eels, crabs, grasshoppers, monkeys,[2] deer, pigs, and chickens form a part of the food supply; in fact, the people seem to draw the line at nothing but crows, snakes, mice, rats, goats, horses, dogs, and cats. Despite the assertion of a number of worthy informants that the last three are on the prohibited list, it is the opinion of the writer that it is the scarcity of the supply rather than any feeling of prejudice which causes them to be included.

Salt and pepper are used as condiments. The former is secured in trade with the coast natives and Chinese, while the latter is produced by mashing the fruit of a small wild pepper, locally known as *katombal*.

Rice, after being allowed to dry, is stored without being separated from the straw. When a supply is needed a bundle is laid on a piece of hide and is beaten with a wooden pestle, wielded by a woman or a slave. This separates the grain, which is gathered up and placed in a wooden mortar, where it is again beaten with the pestle until the outer husk has been loosened. To remove the chaff the rice is taken from the

[1] Back of the coast there are no irrigated fields to be found in the Davao District.
[2] Some people refuse to eat monkey meat.

Digitized by Google

mortar, placed on a flat winnowing tray (Fig. 13), and tossed and caught, until the wind has carried away the lighter husks, thus leaving the grain free. This is placed in a pot, a small quantity of water is added, and the vessel is placed over the fire. Here it is allowed to remain

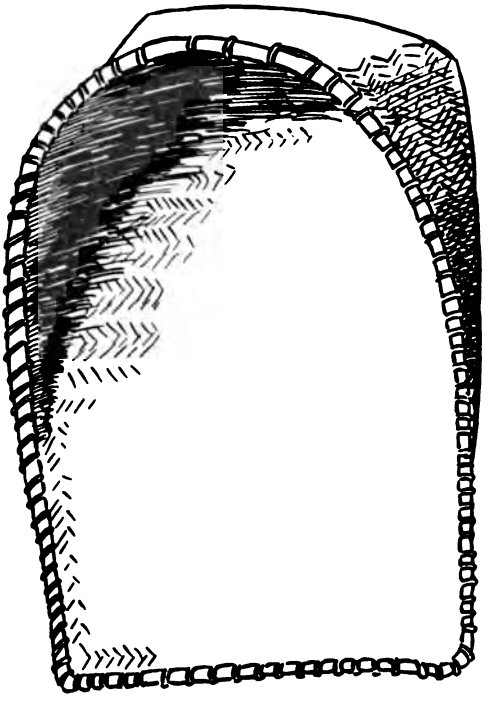


FIG. 13.
RICE WINNOWER.

only until it begins to boil, when it is placed on the ashes, near enough to the fire to keep it hot. From time to time the woman turns the jar until the contents is cooked through, when each grain stands out free from its fellows.[1]

Other vegetable foods are eaten raw, or are cooked with water and salt, with perhaps the addition of a little meat broth or a sour.

Small birds and fish are cooked without other treatment than a hasty cleaning; but the flesh of larger fowls, deer, and pig is generally cut into small cubes and cooked with condiments in a jar or small Chinese caldron. Birds are sometimes prepared by placing them on a spit, covering them with green banana leaves, and suspending them

[1] This is the usual way of preparing rice throughout the archipelago.

Digitized by Google

above the fire until roasted. This primitive paper bag cooking yields a most excellent dish.

Grasshoppers are relished, and are secured in the following manner: A clear grass spot is selected and several deep holes are dug in one end. Back of them, and leading toward them, is a high tight fence made in a V. By beating the grass with boughs as they walk toward the trap, the people drive the grasshoppers before them until they are finally forced into the pit, from which they are collected by the bushel.

I was told that meat was sometimes salted, dried, and stored away for future use. The climate seems to be absolutely opposed to such foresight, and the one time that I saw the process being used, the odors were such that I beat a hasty retreat and chose to accept, without proof, the verdict of the natives, that venison thus prepared was excellent.

Of almost as much importance as food is the use of the betel or areca nut,[1] which is chewed almost constantly by young and old of both sexes. The nut is divided into quarters and a piece of *buyo* leaf[2] is wrapped about each bit. To this is added a little lime and a pinch of tobacco, and it is ready for the mouth. The resultant deep red saliva is distributed indiscriminately on the floor, walls, and furniture where it leaves a permanent stain. To hold the materials necessary for this practice brass betel nut boxes, secured from the Moro or of their own manufacture, as well as plaited grass boxes and pouches are constantly carried (Plates XVIIa and XLI). The brass boxes generally have three compartments; the first for nuts, the second for leaves and tobacco, and the third for lime. Lime is also carried in small bamboo tubes (Fig. 14), in the decoration of which a great deal of time is consumed. The open end is fitted with a rattan sifter so that the powder is distributed evenly on the nut and leaf.

Aged persons and those whose teeth have been so mutilated that they cannot chew, make use of an outfit which includes a small mortar and pestle (Plate XVIIb). Cutting open green betel nuts, the chewer wraps the pieces in leaves and, after adding a liberal supply of lime, mashes them in the mortar until all are reduced to a soft mass.

Lime is secured by placing snail shells in a fire, from which they are taken while hot and dropped into cold water. They can then be crushed into powder with the fingers.

Although the Bagobo raises a considerable quantity of tobacco he seldom, if ever, smokes it unless the leaf is furnished him, already pre-

[1] *Catechu* L.
[2] *Piper betel* L.

Digitized by Google

pared, by an outsider. Sometimes a small ball made of the green leaves is placed between the teeth and upper lip, where it remains until all the flavor has been extracted.

The outfits for betel nut and tobacco, aside from the brass boxes which fasten at the side, are generally carried in the sacks worn on the backs of the men or in the elaborate shoulder bags worn by the women.

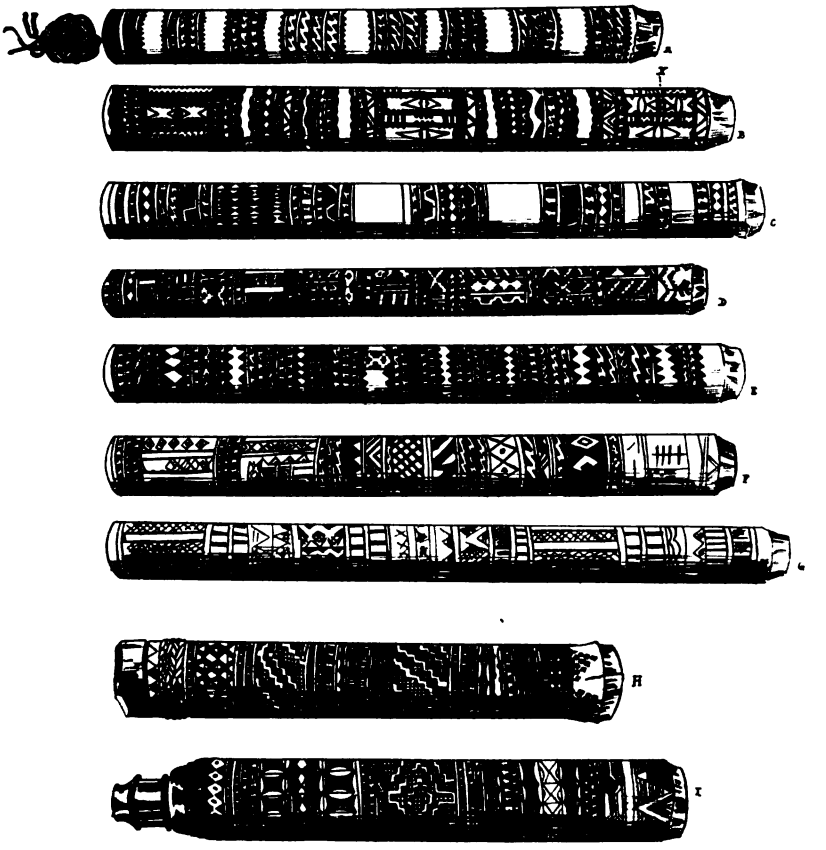


FIG. 14.
INCISED LIME AND TOBACCO TUBES.

However, a small waterproof box is frequently seen attached to a man's belt, and in this he carries his betel nut, tobacco, and fire-making outfit.

The usual method of making fire is by the use of flint and steel, but when this is not at hand a flame can be quickly obtained by rubbing two pieces of bamboo rapidly together until the friction produces a spark.

Digitized by Google

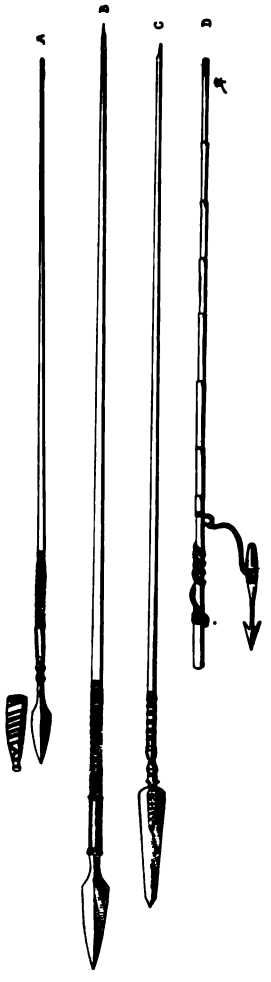


FIG. 15.
SPEARS USED IN FIGHTING AND HUNTING.

HUNTING AND FISHING.

Since only a few domesticated animals and fowls are found in a settlement, the greater part of the meat supply is secured by hunting and fishing.

Deer and wild pig are taken by means of spears. The hunter either lies in wait near the runways of the game, or the animals are driven toward the spot where the huntsmen are concealed. For this purpose the ordinary lance (Figs. 15a, b and c) is often used, but a more effective weapon is the spear known as *kaláwat* (Fig. 15d). In this the metal head fits loosely into a long shaft to which it is attached by a rope. As soon as the weapon enters the body of the animal the head pulls out of the shaft, and this trails behind until it becomes entangled in the undergrowth, thus putting the game at the mercy of the hunter. Dead falls and pits are put in the runways, and a frightened animal is sometimes impaled on concealed sharpened bamboo sticks. Less frequently, large animals are secured by means of rope loops which hang from trees past which the game is accustomed to pass. Until recent years the *balatik*, a trap which when sprung throws an arrow with great force against the animal which releases it, was much used, but so many domestic animals have been killed by it that this sort of trap is now in disfavor.

Wild chickens are captured by means of snares (Fig. 16). A tame rooster

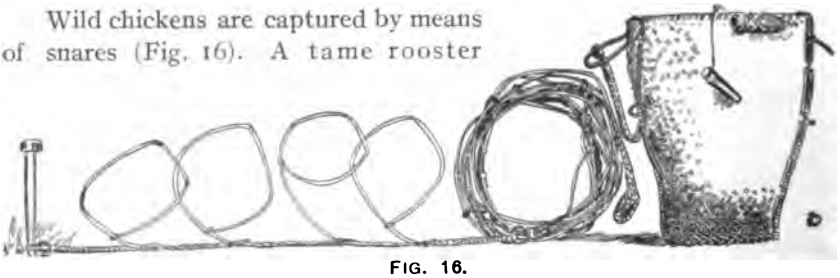


FIG. 16.
CHICKEN SNARE AND CARRYING CASE.

Digitized by Google

is fastened in the jungle and around him is placed a snare, consisting of running knots attached to a central band. The crowing of this fowl soon attracts the wild birds which, coming in to fight, are almost sure to become entangled in one of the nooses. Slip loops, attached to a bent twig and released by disturbing the bait, are also employed in the capture of wild fowl.

Birds of all sizes are secured by use of bows and arrows, blow guns, or nets. Wooden decoys (Plate XVIII) are tied to the branches of trees in which the hunters are concealed. The bows used are of *palma brava*, in each end of which notches are cut to hold the rattan bow strings (Fig. 17). The arrow shafts are of light reeds and are fitted

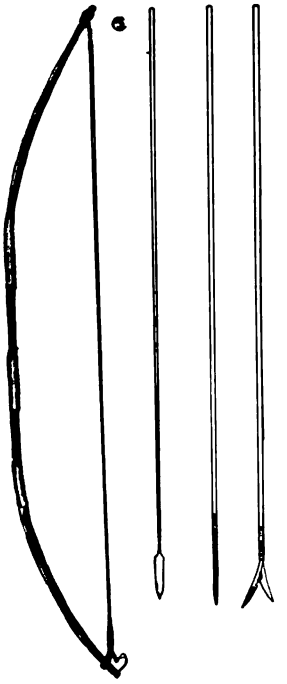


FIG. 17.
BOWS AND ARROWS.

FIG. 18.
BLOW GUNS AND DARTS.

with one or two bamboo points. These weapons are effective only for close range, and even then the Bagobo are far from being expert marksmen. Boys use a reed blow gun through which they shoot light darts tufted with cotton (Fig. 18). The missile is not poisoned and is of little use at a distance of more than twenty feet.

Digitized by Google

By far the most effective means of securing birds is to stretch a net between trees or poles where the birds are accustomed to fly. Wooden decoys are attached to the net in order to attract the game which, once enmeshed, is easily caught.

Various devices are employed in the capture of fresh water fish,[1] but the most common is a torpedo-shaped trap of bamboo (Fig. 19). Stone conduits lead the water from streams into the open ends of these traps, thus carrying in fish and shrimps. The funnel-shaped opening has the sharpened ends set close together so that it is quite impossible for the prisoners to escape, although the water readily passes between the bamboo strips.

A hook and line is employed, especially for eels; while in clear pools fish are secured by means of a four-pointed spear which is thrust or thrown (Fig. 20). Perhaps the most interesting device used is a lure, known as *bōrō* (Fig. 21). A live minnow is fastened at the end of the rod near to a rattan noose. A cord running from the noose to the end of the stick allows the fisherman to draw up the noose as he desires. The struggles of the captive fish soon attract others, and when one enters the loop the line is drawn taut, securely binding the intruder. Several fish can be taken from a single pool by this method. A berry (*anamirta cocculus L.*) is used in the capture of fish. It is crushed to a powder, is wrapped with vines and leaves, and is thrown into pools. The fish become stupified and float to the surface where they are easily captured. After being cooked they are eaten without any ill effects.

OCCUPATIONS.

Mention has already been made of some of the daily occupations of the people. We have found the women caring for the home and preparing the rice and other foods which are served in the house. At no time did the writer see a man, other than a slave, take any part in such household duties; but when on the trail each would do his share in preparing the meals. In the village we found the women and children carrying the water and wood and, at rare intervals, doing laundry work. Instead of soaping and rubbing soiled clothing, they soak the garments in water, then place them on stones and beat them with wooden paddles or clubs. The articles are alternately soaked and beaten until at least a part of the dirt has been removed. It is also the privilege of any woman to engage in the manufacture of basketry, or to act as a potter.

[1] Along the coast the methods of the Christianized natives are used in salt water fishing.

Digitized by Google

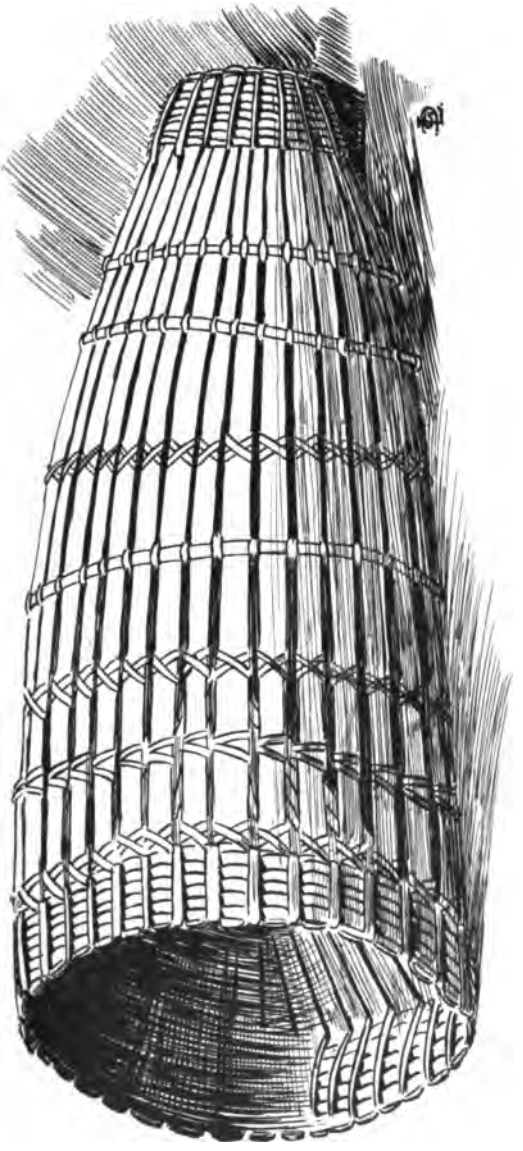


FIG. 19.
BAMBOO FISH TRAP.

Digitized by Google

FIG. 20. (LEFT)
FOUR-POINTED FISH SPEAR.

FIG. 21. (RIGHT)
FISH LURE.

Digitized by Google

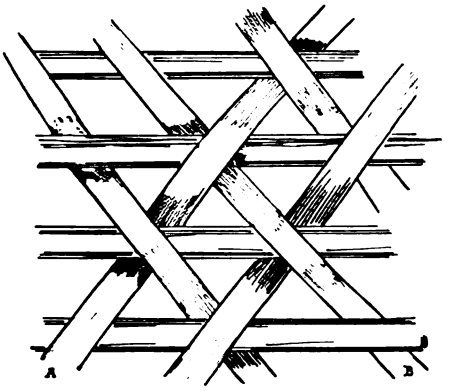


FIG. 22.

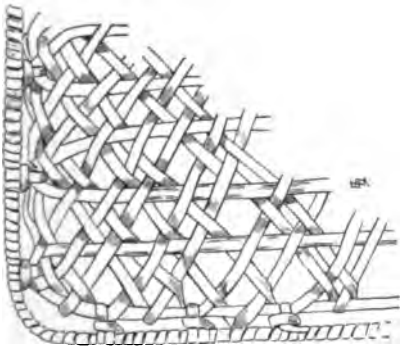


FIG. 23.

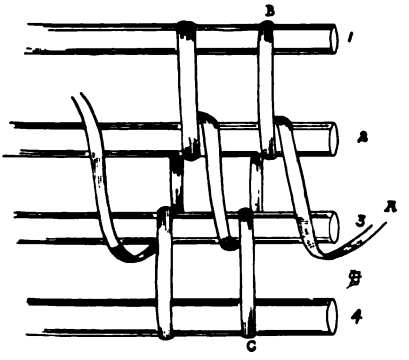


FIG. 24.
TYPES OF WEAVING USED IN BASKETRY.

In the manufacture of baskets the woman makes use chiefly of bamboo and rattan, though other materials, such as *pandanus* are sometimes brought into service. Three weaves or their variants are employed. The first is the common diagonal or twilled weave, in which each element of the weft passes over two or more of the warp elements. In this way most of the rice winnowers, transportation baskets, knife sheaths, and the like are made. In the second weave (Fig. 22), the foundation of the basket is made up of parallel horizontal rods, or strips of bamboo. These are laced together by warp strips which pass alternately under one and over one of the foundation rods, crossing each other at an angle, one above the other below the rod. The trinket baskets carried by the women, the larger waterproof receptacles known as *bînóta*, and the covers for wild chicken snares are in this technic. A variant of this weave is found in the rattan carrying frames and in some fish traps (Fig 23). Here the warp strips cross one another at an angle, at each meeting place enclosing the horizontal foundation strips. Unlike the second weave described, the warp strips do not pass alternately above and below the horizontal foundation, but retain the same relation to it throughout the entire length of each strip. A coiled weave (Fig. 24) is used in the manufacture of tobacco boxes (Plate XIX)

Digitized by Google

and in the rims of women's baskets. In this type the foundation consists of a series of horizontal rattan strips or rods which are sewed together in the following manner. A narrow strip *A* passes over two of these parallel rods *2* and *3* in a left handed spiral. At the top of the loop the strip passes under a similar strip *B* which binds rod *2* to the one above. Passing downward inside the basket, the strip *A* goes beneath the strip *C* which binds rods *3* and *4* together. These are drawn tightly while damp, thus forcing the foundation rods so closely together as to make the basket practically water-tight. Pitch from the *tabon-tabon* nuts may also be rubbed over the outside surface, thus making the receptacle impervious to water.

In the great majority of baskets the surface is divided into three parallel zones or decorative bands. These are produced by making a slight variation in the weave, by the use of blackened strips of bamboo and rattan, or by substituting in their place the black cuticle of a fern.

As a rule the women of this tribe are not good potters and take little pride in their work. In some districts the art has been entirely lost, and the people depend on the coast natives for their cooking utensils. At the village of Bansalan the women were found still to be proficient in their work. After the dampened clay had been carefully kneaded in order to remove lumps and gravel, the bottom of the jar was moulded with the fingers and placed on a dish which was turned on a bit of cloth or a board and answered the purpose of a potter's wheel. As the dish was turned with the right hand the operator shaped the clay with the fingers of the left adding fresh strips of material from time to time until the desired size was obtained. The final shaping was done with a wooden paddle and the jar was allowed to dry, after which it was smoothed off with a stone. When ready for firing it was placed in the midst of a pile of rubbish, over which green leaves were placed to cause a slow fire.

Other dishes are made by splitting a cocoanut in half and removing the "meat." This is readily accomplished by the use of a scraper fitted with a rough iron blade (Fig. 25), over which the concave side of the half nut is drawn. The cocoanut meat is used for food and oil.

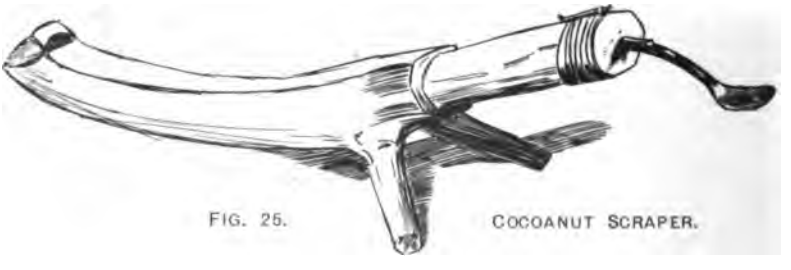


FIG. 25. COCOANUT SCRAPER.

Digitized by Google

A little later we shall describe the active part woman takes in the planting and care of the fields, but now we shall take up in some detail the industry in which she stands pre-eminent, the preparation and weaving of hemp.

The hemp ordinarily stripped by the men is considered too fine to be used in the manufacture of clothing, so a smaller stripping device is employed by the woman (Plate XX). On this she cleans the outer layers of the hemp stalk, from which a stronger and coarser thread can be obtained. The fiber is tied in a continuous thread and is wound onto a reel. The warp threads are measured on sharpened sticks driven into a hemp or banana stalk, and are then transferred to a rectangular frame (Plate XXI). The operator, with the final pattern in mind, overties or wraps with waxed threads, such portions of the warp as she desires to remain white in the completed garment. So carefully does she wrap these sections, that, when the thread is removed from the frame and placed in the liquid dye, no portion of the coloring matter penetrates to the portions thus protected. If a red color is desired the root of the *sikarig*[1] palm is scraped and the scrapings placed in bark vats filled with cold water. The thread is first washed in, and is later boiled with the dye for a half hour, after which it is placed in a basket to drain and dry. The process is repeated daily for about two weeks, or until the thread assumes a brick red color. If a purple hue is desired a little lime is added to the dye. Black is obtained by a slightly different method. The leaves, root, and bark of the *pinarrEm* tree are crushed in water. This yields a black liquor which is poured into a jar containing the thread and the whole is placed over a slow fire where it remains until the liquid is near the boiling point. When this is reached the thread is removed and placed in a gourd, the open end of which fits over the jar so as to catch the steam coming from the dye. After a time the thread is removed and dried, and the process is repeated until at last a permanent black is obtained. After the coloring is complete the thread is again placed on the rectangular frame, the overtying is removed and the warp is ready for the loom (Plate XXII .) In the loom (Plate XXIII) the threads encircle a bamboo pole attached to the wall, and are held tense by a strap which passes around the waist of the operator. The weft threads are forced up against the fabric by means of the comber board and are beaten in with a baton. The warp threads are held in their relative positions, first by the comber board, second by loops which pass under the lower threads and over a

[1] *Morinda Bracteata* Roxb.

[2] Woof threads are generally of one color. A somewhat similar process used in Java is described by SIR THOS. RAFFLES in The History of Java, Vol. I, p. 189.

Digitized by Google

small stick or lease rod, and lastly by passing over and under, or around, other lease rods. These are rolled away as the work progresses.

After the cloth is removed from the loom it is polished. A long pole of *palma brava* is fitted into a notch in the roof. The operator seats herself on the floor with a smooth board before her, or in her lap, and on it places the dampened cloth. A shell is fitted over the lower end of the pole, which is bent and made bowlike, until the shell rests on the cloth. It is then ironed rapidly to and fro until the fabric has received a high polish (Plate XXIV).

The woman's duties do not end with the manufacture of cloth, for all the garments worn by the members of the tribe are the result of her handiwork. She sews the strips of hemp cloth into skirts, men's trousers, carrying bags, and sometimes into jackets. The women devote hours of labor to these jackets, covering arms, necks, and waist bands with colored embroidery or designs in appliqué, while on the better garments they place elaborate designs in beads or shell disks.

After the evening meal is over the women of the household gather around the flickering lights, and until far into the night work on these garments, bead necklaces, or other ornaments.

Only a few of the weavers attempt to make the peculiar chocolate-colored head covering worn by the *magani*. For these kerchiefs the woman weaves a square cotton cloth of the desired size, and at one corner attaches a small brass hook. Joined to the hook, by means of a chain, is a loop which fits over the toes of the operator, thus enabling her to keep the fabric taut while her hands are left free for work. Small sections of this cloth are raised and are wrapped with waxed thread, so that when the fabric is dyed these portions will not receive the coloring matter (Plate XXV). Later the overtying is removed, leaving small white rings or squares on a chocolate-colored background. These cloths are meant primarily for the warriors, but expert weavers, who are under the protection of a certain powerful spirit, are also permitted to wear an upper garment of this material.

A considerable part of the man's time is consumed in preparation for, or actual participation in, hunting or warfare, but in addition to this he does a goodly portion of the work in the fields, and is the house builder. When a man is about to erect a dwelling he notifies his friends to come and aid him. This they will do without pay, but when in need of similar services they will expect and will receive similar help. All sorts of house-furnishings, such as spoons, meat blocks, or rice mortars, are made by the man, and not infrequently, he assists in the making or waterproofing of baskets. A few of the old men of Cibolan still engage

Digitized by Google

in the manufacture of small shell disks with which valuable suits are decorated, but the greater part of those now in use have been inherited, or are purchased from neighboring peoples. The men carve beads out of "Job's tears"[1] and make them into necklaces. For this purpose a peculiarly carved and decorated stick is employed (Plate XXVI). This is placed in the palm of the left hand so that the thumb and forefinger can hold the seed which fits into a depression in the top. A knife in the right hand of the artist is worked over the seed thus cutting a line into which dirt is rubbed. Women's combs are made by shaping a half circle out of light wood and then cutting teeth into it with a saw-like blade of tin or iron.

Among the men, as with the women, certain industries are monopolized by a few individuals. In this community no men stand higher in the estimation of their fellows than do the smiths and the casters of copper. The writer spent many hours watching Ī-o, the brass and copper worker of Cibolan, while he shaped bells, bracelets, and betel boxes at his forge on the outskirts of the village (Plate XXVII). Feathered plungers, which worked up and down in two bamboo cylinders, forced air through a small clay-tipped tube into a charcoal fire. This served as a bellows, while a small cup made of straw ashes formed an excellent crucible. The first day I watched Ī-o, he was making bells. Taking a ball of wax the size of a bucket shot, he put it on the end of a stick (Fig. 26a), and over this moulded the form of a bell in damp ashes obtained from rice straw (b). When several bells were thus fashioned they were dipped in melted wax and were turned on a leaf until smooth, after which an opening was cut through the wax at the bottom of each form (c). Strips of wax were rolled out and laid in shallow grooves which had been cut in the sides of the bells and were pressed in, at intervals, with a small bamboo knife (d). The top stick was then withdrawn, leaving an opening down to the wax ball inside. Into this hole a thin strip of wax was inserted and was doubled back on itself so as to form a hanger (e). For three days the forms were allowed to harden and then were covered with several

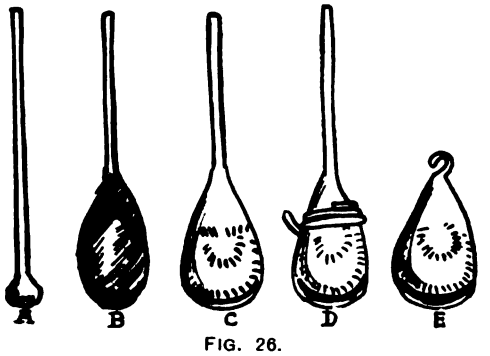


FIG. 26.
STAGES IN THE MANUFACTURE OF METAL BELLS.

[1] *Coix lachryma Jobi L.*

Digitized by Google

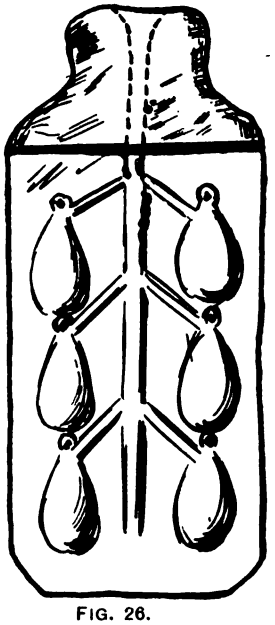


FIG. 26.
STAGE IN THE MANUFACTURE OF METAL BELLS.

coats of damp straw ashes. Finally they were laid in a bed of the same material with a thin strip of wax leading from each bell to a central core (f). The whole, with the exception of the top of the central wax strip, was covered with a thick coating of damp ashes, and when this had hardened pieces of copper, secured from broken gongs, were placed in the crucible, melted and poured into the open end of the clay form. The molten metal took the place of the wax as it was dissolved and flowed to all parts where it had been. After being dropped in water the form was broken open, revealing six nearly perfect little bells which were ready for use as soon as the ashes were removed from them. The same method was used for all other casting. Clay forms were made as desired, were covered with wax, and the final coating of ashes applied before the casting. The workers in copper and brass are under the care and guidance of a spirit, Tolus ka towangan, for whom they make a yearly ceremony, *Gomek towangan.*

Of even greater importance are the smiths who are also under the care of a powerful spirit for whom the *Gomek-gomanan* ceremony is celebrated each year, just prior to the planting time. Their forges are hidden away in the hemp fields, and I was repeatedly informed that no woman might see the smith at work. Whether or no such a rule is rigidly enforced at all times I cannot say, but at no time did I see a woman about the forge while the fire was burning, and although I was allowed to see and photograph the process, my wife was at all times prevented from doing so. The forge differs in no material respects from that used by the brass casters, except that hollowed out logs replace the bamboo tubes, and that a metal anvil and iron hammers are used. After an iron knife or spear head has been roughly shaped, the smith splits the edge to a slight depth and inserts a band of steel. The iron is pounded down on the harder metal and the whole is brought to a white heat in the charcoal fire. Removing it to the anvil the smith gives the blade one or two light blows and returns it to the fire. This is repeated many times before he begins to add the heavy strokes

Digitized by Google

which finally weld the iron and steel together. The blade having been given its final shape is again heated and is held above a tube of water until the glowing metal begins to turn a yellowish green, when it is plunged into the cold water. This process, repeated many times, gives a fair temper to the whole weapon. Charcoal for the fire is secured by burning logs and chilling them suddenly with cold water.

Brass wire, secured in trade, is made into bracelets in the following manner. In order to soften it and make it more easily worked the roll of wire is heated until it begins to turn grey, when it is allowed to cool and is scraped, so as to restore the yellow color. One end is laid on an anvil made of an iron strip on a wooden block (Plate XXVIII), and is cut into various designs by means of metal dies. A wooden cone is used as a form, about which the wire is placed in order to shape and measure it.

Hemp[1] grows wild in the Davao District and the Bagobo have, for generations, used it in the manufacture of their clothing. In recent years the demand for fiber has shown the people an easy way to secure the trade articles which they desire and, as a result, rather extensive plantings are found even in the more remote districts. The women strip a large part of the fiber in local use, but all that prepared for trade is produced by the men. When the ever-present cogon grass begins to invade a clearing, the young hemp is planted. In about eighteen months it has grown to a height of some sixteen feet and is ready to be cut. The man goes to the fields, cuts down some stalks and, having removed the leaves, splits off the outer fiber layers from the cellular matter of the interior, using a bone knife for this purpose. When he has accumulated a sufficient number of strips he carries them to the hemp machine (Fig. 27). This consists of a knife which rests on a wooden block. The handle turns on a pivot and the end is drawn upwards by means of a bent twig, or sapling, which acts as a spring. This spring is lowered and the knife blade raised by means of a foot treadle; a strip of hemp is laid on the block; the foot pressure is removed, and the knife descends. Taking a firm hold of one end of the strip, the operator draws it toward him under the blade, thus removing the pulp and leaving the free hemp threads. These are hung in the sun until dry, when they are tied in bundles ready to be carried to the coast. The work is hard and, unless necessity forces him to greater effort, a man seldom engages in it for more than three or four days in a month. He thinks his duty ceases with this expenditure of energy and, unless

[1] *Musa textilis.*

Digitized by Google

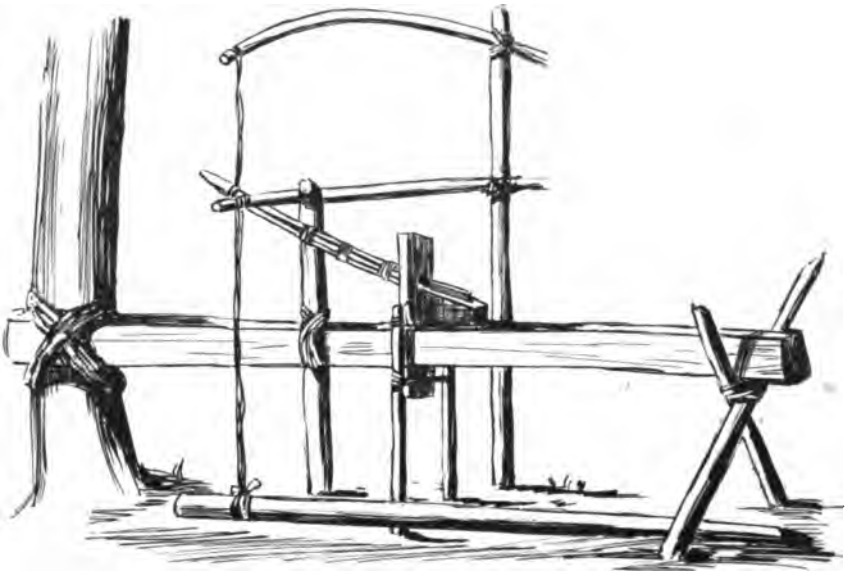


FIG. 27.
HEMP MACHINE

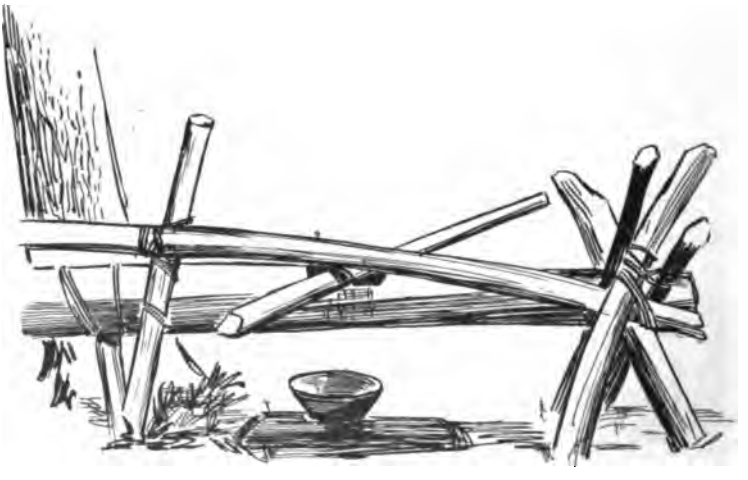


FIG. 28.
SUGAR CANE PRESS

Digitized by Google

he is fortunate enough to possess animals or slaves, is quite content to allow his wife, or wives, to carry the product to the coast trader.

During ceremonies and at festivals a fermented drink made of sugar cane is served, and in anticipation of its pleasurable effects the Bagobo is willing to expend a considerable amount of effort. The juice of the cane is extracted by means of a press made of two logs arranged in parallel horizontal positions, so that the end of a wooden lever can slip under one and rest in a groove cut in the other (Fig. 28). The cane is placed in the groove and the operator bears his weight on the lever, thus squeezing out the juice. After being boiled with the bark of certain trees and lime juice, the liquor is sealed in jars or bamboo tubes and is stored away until needed.

The sago palm is found in parts of the Bagobo territory, and in times of need, the people make temporary camps near to the sago districts, where they prepare the flour. This is done in the same manner as is fully described on page 140.

The most important thing in the life of the Bagobo is the care of the rice, for on this crop he depends for the greater part of his food supply, and by its condition he can ascertain with what favor he is looked upon by the spirits. So closely is the cultivation of this cereal coupled with the religious beliefs that it is necessary, in this relation, to describe the ceremonies connected with it.

We have previously stated that the incursion of the cogon grass into the fields makes necessary some new clearings each year. In the month of December a constellation known as *Balatik* appears in the sky. This has a double significance; first, it is the reminder for the yearly sacrifice; and secondly, it notifies all workers that the tools, which are to be used in making new clearings, shall be placed in readiness. All those who expect to prepare new fields for themselves, or are to assist others in such work, gather at the forge of the local smith and there take part in a ceremony held in honor of his patron spirit. They carry with them offerings of rice and chickens which they cook in bamboo tubes, for food taken from a pot is not acceptable to this spirit. When all is ready the food is placed on a rice winnower, near to the forge, and on it the men lay their weapons and working knives (Plate XXIX). Standing before the offering the smith, in a droning voice, calls on the spirit, beseeching him to come and eat of the food, to accept the weapons and tools, and having done so to be watchful over the workers during the clearing time, so that they may not be injured in the work or be molested by enemies. The prayer finished, the smith eats a little of the food, and all the men follow his example, but

Digitized by Google

no woman may so much as touch this offering. Meanwhile other food which can be eaten by all has been prepared. After the meal the weapons and tools which are to be used during the clearing time are removed, but, as they now belong to the spirit, they can never be disposed of without first recompensing him. During this day there is a strict prohibition against music and dancing. For three days the men abstain from work and the forge stands idle. When the fire is again lighted the first knife made is the property of the spirit.

With the ending of the period of taboo the workers go to the fields and, in the center of each, place a *tambara*[1] fitted with a white dish containing betel nut. This is an offering to Eugpamolak Manobo, who is besought to drive from the field any *tigbanawa* or *tagamaling*[2] who may live there, to keep the workers in good health, to allow an abundant crop, and, finally, to make the owner rich and happy. The weeds, brush, and trees, after being cut and allowed to dry are fired, while the logs remaining after this initial burning are piled together and again set on fire, and the field is ready for the planting. No soil is broken and not a seed goes into the ground until the spirits again designate the time, by placing the constellation *Marara* in the sky. This appears early in April, and is followed by a period of great activity in the fields. If, for any reason, the owner of the land cannot plant at this time, he has two or more opportunities given him when the constellations *Mamarî* and *Bwaya* appear, the latter toward the end of June.

When the workers go to the field on the day set for the planting they enter at one corner and proceed directly across it to the far left hand corner where they erect a small house or place a *tambara* which is known as *pEmEg'ge*. As soon as it is complete, the *mabalîan* begin to call on the spirits. Manama[3] is called first and after him other spirits, according to their rank and power. They are informed that the planting is about to begin and that the people are showing them this mark of respect so that they will not allow anything to interfere with the crop. This done, they go to the center of the field and place a second *tambara*, called *parobanîan*, for the spirit Taragómi, who owns all food. Leaves pleasing to him and presents of food or bracelets are placed in it, as well as in his *tambara* found in the house.[4] The owner of the field takes the *malayag*, a large variety of rice, and plants it

[1] See p. 66, Fig. 12.
[2] Evil spirits which are classed with the *buso*. See p. 107.
[3] Eugpamolak Manobo.
[4] At Cibolan only brass objects are placed in this *tambara*.

Digitized by Google

around the *parobanĭan*,[1] and as the last grain is planted the *mabalĭan* again starts her prayer, this time beginning with Taragómi. She asks for good crops, and protection for the field from all animals, blight and drought. Finally, she begs Eugpamolak Manobo to control the sun and winds so that they will always be favorable to the growing grain. Having thus done all in their power to secure the cooperation of the superior beings the men take their rice planters and real work begins.[2] The planter (Fig. 29) consists of a long shaft at one end of which is a metal blade while at the other is a bamboo clapper decorated with feathers. When this instrument is struck on the ground it digs a shallow hole an inch or more in depth, the clapper meanwhile keeping up an incessant noise. It is said by some that the rattle is intended to please the guardian spirit of the fields, but this does not seem to be the prevalent idea. The women follow the men, dropping seeds into the holes and pushing the soil over them with their feet.

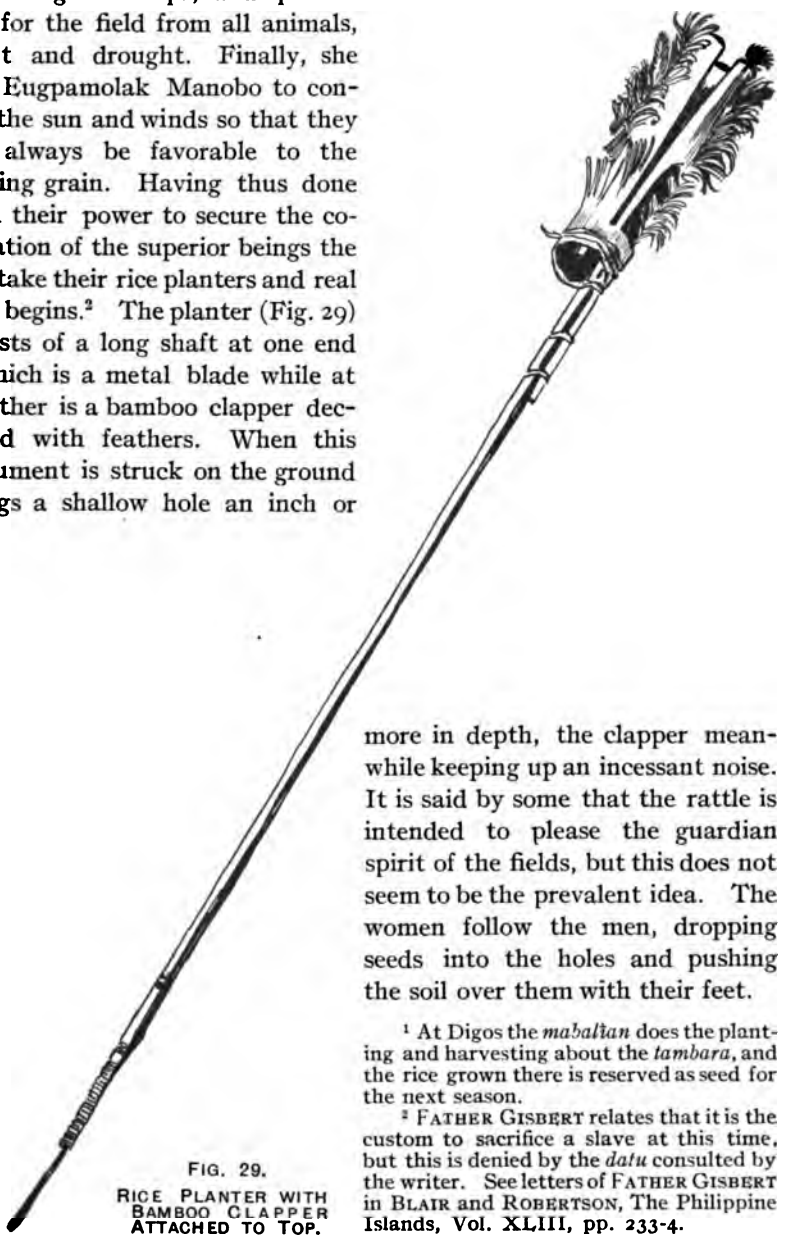


FIG. 29.
RICE PLANTER WITH BAMBOO CLAPPER ATTACHED TO TOP.

[1] At Digos the *mabalĭan* does the planting and harvesting about the *tambara*, and the rice grown there is reserved as seed for the next season.

[2] FATHER GISBERT relates that it is the custom to sacrifice a slave at this time, but this is denied by the *datu* consulted by the writer. See letters of FATHER GISBERT in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, The Philippine Islands, Vol. XLIII, pp. 233-4.

Digitized by Google

At nightfall of the day in which the planting has been completed a *mabalĭan* cooks fish and rice, which she carries to the *parobanĭan*. Early next morning the family goes to the field and eats this offering which "belongs to Taragómi, so should be eaten at his house." From this time until harvest the fields must be guarded against birds and animals, but no further offerings take place unless unusual conditions should satisfy the owner that the spirits are demanding more gifts. When harvest time comes the owner and a few of his friends will go to the field and pull a few of the fresh stalks, which they place in the *pEmEg'ge* and *parobanĭan*, meanwhile addressing the spirits, and the cutting of the rice begins. This is done by women who, for this purpose, employ a small knife called *gElat* (Plate XXIXd). The last grain to be cut is that about the *parobanĭan*. The *mabalĭan* cooks a little of the new rice in the house and places a part of it in the various *tambara* and shrines; then, having placed a number of rice stalks on the floor, she offers them one by one to the spirits. Not until she has finished can any of the prepared food be eaten. The balance of the crop lies in the sun until dry, when it is tied in bundles and placed in the granary.

When all the harvesting is finished the people will make a festival known as *Gatokbia-an*, or *Pakakaro*. Ordinarily each family will have its own celebration, but at times all the inhabitants of a village will join in one great celebration. The period of toil and doubt is past, the food supply is assured, and the people gather to give thanks. No New England Thanksgiving dinner is prepared with greater thought, or less regard for expense, than that which is made ready at this time. The finest of the rice, cocoanuts, eggs, chickens, fish, shrimps, and many other edibles are prepared and placed in certain dishes which are dedicated to the spirits and are used only at this time. These plates are arranged in a row in the center of the room and the *mabalĭan* gather around them. Taking a wand of sandal wood in her hand one of the number waves it over the offerings, while she chants long prayers. Beginning with the most powerful, she addresses the spirits one by one, thanking them for the care they have given to the growing grain and to the laborers, and for the bounteous harvest. Frequently individuals will interrupt the proceedings to place near to the *mabalĭan* a fine knife or some other prized object which they desire to have presented to the spirits as evidence of their gratitude. At first, it is a little hard to understand this lavishness, but it transpires that the former owners still have possession of these objects, and that the spirits offer no objections to their use, so long as their ownership is not disputed, truly a case of eating the pie but still having it.

Digitized by Google

The knives and other implements which have been used in the fields are laid on a large basket filled with rice, "in order that they may eat, and, therefore, have no cause to injure their owners." Another large dish of rice is set aside as a special offering. In some cases this is taken out to the fields, where it is eaten by the wife, or wives of the host; but in Cibolan it is kept in the house until the next morning, when it is eaten by all the members of the family. The ceremonial eating of this rice causes the supply to last longer and assures abundant rains for the succeeding crop. Part of the food from the dishes is placed in the *tambara* and shrines, and then all the guests are permitted to feast and make merry. Unlike most Bagobo ceremonies this one lacks the music of the *agongs*,[1] for only bamboo guitars, flutes, and the *bolang-bolang* are permitted at this time. The last named instrument is made by placing a board on a rice mortar; the women gather around it with their wooden pestles and beat a rythmical tattoo. This concludes the festival proper, but many guests will remain for two or three days to enjoy the hospitality of their host.

On the third morning after the festival the family and some friends will celebrate *BagkEs* "the tying together." The dishes in which food was offered are tied together and are carried to the rice field where, with great solemnity, the little dish in the *parobanŧan* is removed and placed among the others, while the people tell it that the other plates have come to take it away, but that it will be returned to its home the following year. The family goes back to the village in silence and after tying all the dishes together place them in the rice granary.

In the Bagobo settlement at Digos, the women hold still another festival following the cutting of the rice. This is known as *Gomeng ka taragomi*, or *bitinbagáybe*. In the main it resembles the ceremony of similar name, which the women of Malilla hold on the second day of *GinEm* (See page 111). A bamboo pole decked with leaves and green fruit of the *areca* palm is placed in the center of a room and is surrounded with cooked food. After this has been offered to the spirits, it is eaten by the guests who then indulge in dancing about the decorated pole. This generally lasts eight days, but in one instance the festivities continued for sixteen days and nights. The explanation given is that "the women wish to show Taragomi and the Nitos (anitos) how happy they are because of the good harvest, for when they see this they will be pleased and will help again next year."

[1] Copper gongs.

Digitized by Google

TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE.

The Bagobo makes no use of boats or rafts, for until recent times he has lived at a considerable distance from the sea; and the rivers, which flow in deep cañons, may be changed in a day from tiny streams to rushing torrents in which no craft could keep afloat. Left to his own devices, he pays little attention to trails, but cuts his way through the underbrush directly to his destination. The government has forced him to clear and maintain several fairly good roads between the larger settlements and the coast, and these are now the highways over which he transports his hemp and other trade articles. Quite a number of carabao and horses are to be found in the territory, where they are used as pack and riding animals. Both men and women are excellent riders and take great pride in the decoration of their mounts. The saddle used is carved from wood, in exact duplication of those used by the Spaniards. The copper bits are also copies, but are of native casting. Strings of bells surround the neck of a prized animal, and it is further beautified by an artificial forelock. Rattan whips, wound with braid, and decorated with beads, are also a part of his trappings. According to Bagobo tradition, they have had horses from the most remote times, and Professor BLUMENTRITT is inclined to believe that they possessed these animals prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. In support of this contention, he points to the fact that, unlike most Philippine tribes, they use the Malayan name.[1]

Heavy loads of field products are transported on animals, or are carried in cylindrical bark or rattan boxes or carrying frames (Fig. 30). Such a receptacle is supported on the back by means of a band which passes around the forehead, or by other bands which slip over the shoulders. Both sexes carry loads in this way, although it must be confessed that consideration for the members of the gentler sex has not reached such a stage that they are relieved of any great part of such labor. When gathering grain and forest products, or when searching for snails, the woman attaches a small basket to her belt so that it hangs at a convenient height against her thigh. We have previously noticed the decorated bags and baskets which serve as pockets, and also contain the betel nut outfits.

A small child is supported at the mother's hip by means of a broad sash, which passes over the right shoulder and under the left arm. When it is able to walk the scarf is discarded, and it sits astride the mother's hip, where it is held in place by her left arm. Older children and the men devote considerable time to the newcomers, but at a very

[1] The terms used are, *baŭi koda*—stallion, and *mamai koda*—mare.

Digitized by Google

early age the youngsters begin to run about as wild and carefree as only little savages can.

The Bagobo is a keen trader and many small articles of all kinds reach, and pass from him through trade; and to make this barter possible he intentionally produces an excess of certain things. Chief of

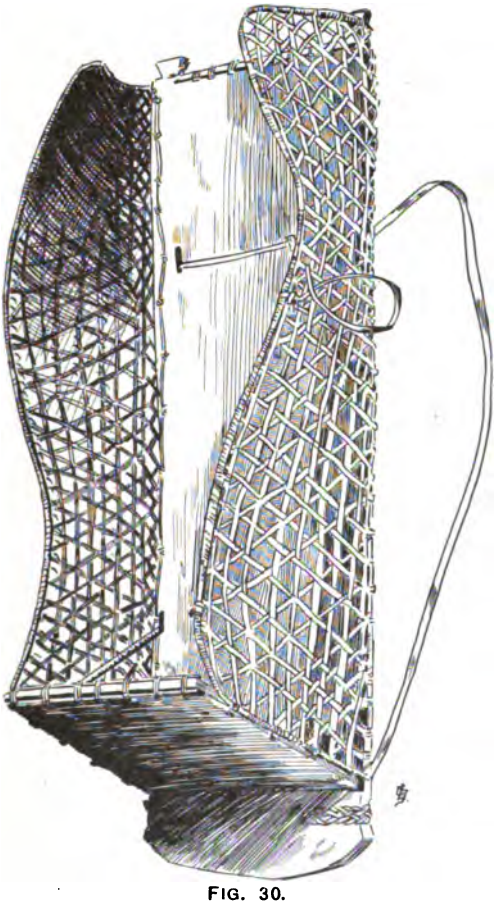


FIG. 30.
CARRYING FRAME.

these is hemp, which he now carries to the coast traders, and for which he receives trade cloth, iron pots, copper gongs, bells, and the beads which he prizes so highly. In exchange for the betel boxes, bells, and knife guards, which come from his forge, he receives shell disks, certain articles of dress, cooking pots, and various other household articles,

Digitized by Google

as well as salt and some animals. The knives made by him are in great demand and often travel far inland. While among the Bukidnon of the North-Central part of the Island the writer secured one blade and guard of undoubted Bagobo workmanship. In early days, Chinese and Moro traders brought gongs, jars, plates, and other crockery, as well as many other articles now among the prized heirlooms of wealthy men or occupying an important place in the ceremonial life of the tribe. Through these same channels came the Borneo ivory of which the ear plugs are made, while other objects from more distant regions were occasionally brought in. Two examples of this trade are now in the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History. One is a jacket made from Javanese cloth; the second a belt buckle which apparently originated in Perak.

Local feuds, as well as the desire of individuals to be known as *magani*, have always made it unsafe for small numbers of traders to venture to any great distance from home, and this has been a great hindrance to trade. However, large parties, even from other tribes, sometimes go to a village for purposes of trade, having previously notified the inhabitants of their intentions. While in Malilla the writer met with a party of thirty Bila-an traders who lived three days' march to the east. The influence of capture, intermarriage, and looting, in carrying the artifacts of one tribe into the territory of another has previously been mentioned.

WARFARE.

The offensive weapons used by the Bagobo are spears, knives (Fig. 15 and Plate XXXII), and at times bows and arrows (Fig. 17). For defense they carry shields, either round or oblong (Figs. 31-32), and cover the body with so many strips of hemp cloth that a knife thrust is warded off. Turning his body sideways to the enemy, the warrior crouches behind his shield, keeping up a continuous capering, rushing forward or dancing backward, seeking for an opening but seldom coming to close quarters. Arrows and spears are glanced off with the shields. An attack is usually initiated by the throwing of spears, then, if the enemy is at a disadvantage or confused, the warriors rush in to close combat. For this purpose they rely entirely on their knives, and as fencers they are unexcelled. They are but indifferent shots with the bow and arrow, and that weapon is but little used in actual combat. It has been frequently stated that these arrows are poisoned but I was unable to discover a single specimen so prepared. When hard-pressed, or when a camp must be made in dangerous territory, sharpened bamboo

Digitized by Google

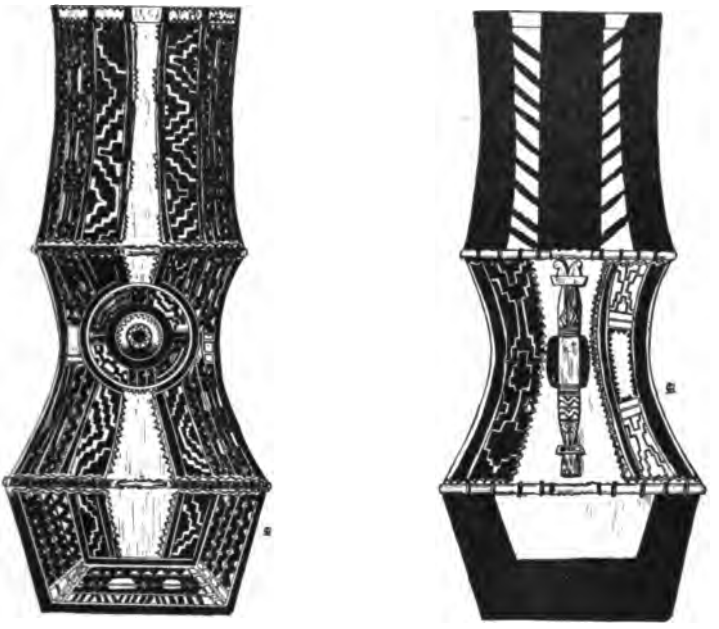


FIG. 31A AND B.
FRONT AND BACK OF AN OBLONG SHIELD.

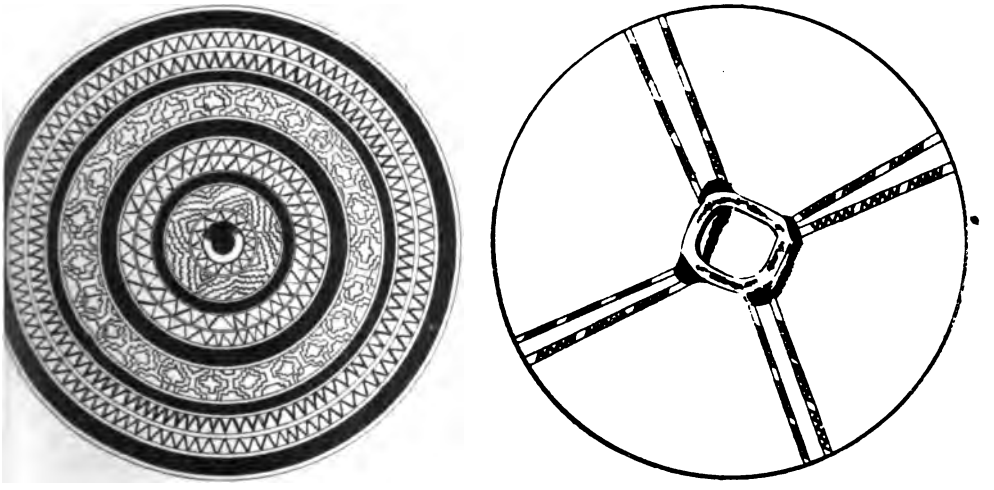


FIG. 32A AND B.
32A.—FRONT OF A DECORATED SHIELD. B.—BACK OF SHIELD A.

Digitized by Google

sticks—*sogìang*—are stuck into the ground with their points directed toward the enemy. These must be carefully gathered up by the pursuers, who otherwise run the risk of having the knife-like blades driven into their feet. Old warriors state that in former years they not only covered the upper part of the body with hemp cloth but wound over this long decorated strips called *gindua;* they also tell of coats of mail made of carabao horn or rattan. None of these outfits exist in the territory today, but it is not at all improbable that they were formerly in use, for the long decorated bands are still found among the Bukidnon of the North, with whom some trade is carried on; and a few coats of mail are to be seen among the neighboring Moro.

Hostile raids against the neighboring Bila-an, Tagakaolo, and Atá seem to have been common from the most ancient times. After the arrival of the Spaniards there were many minor conflicts with the Moro, and the tribal history takes note of several serious feuds between Bagobo villages. Single warriors, usually those desiring to become *magaǹi*, sometimes enter hostile territory and there lie in wait for an opportunity to spear a passing foe. The fact that these attacks are frequently from ambush, or that whole families are slain while asleep on the floors of their houses, does not seem to detract in the least from the honor due for the deed. Generally, parties of sixty or more, under the direction of a *magaǹi*, are made up to avenge the death of their townspeople, to secure loot and slaves, or to win glory and distinction. An ambush is formed near to a hostile village and just at dawn an attack is made on the early risers who are scattered and unprepared. The invaders are usually satisfied with a few victims and then make their escape. Women and children are either killed or are carried away as slaves. It is customary for all the warriors to make at least one cut in the bodies, and to eat a portion of the livers of enemies who have shown great bravery, for in this way it is thought they gain in that quality. This seems to be the only occasion when human flesh is tasted, despite the fact that the members of this tribe have been frequently referred to as cannibals.

The warriors of Cibolan and Malilla formerly carried heads of enemies to their towns and made use of them during the *GìnEm* ceremony, while at Bansalan and Digos a lock of hair, cut from the head of the slain, answered the same purpose. Individual raiders sometimes carry home a head or a hand as evidence of a successful fight, and at such times festivals may be held to celebrate the event. However, the trophy soon loses its value and is hung or buried at a distance from the

Digitized by Google

village. Head-hunting for the sake of the trophy itself, does not exist here.

Peace can be effected by means of a blood compact known as *dayándi*. Each principal cuts his own wrist until the blood flows freely; this he catches in his free hand and offers to the other participant to drink. Sometimes the blood of both is caught and mixed in a dish from which they drink, meanwhile addressing the *tigyama*,[1] saying, "We are now like brothers, like children of the same parents, and now we cannot fight any more. We ask you to be the witnesses."

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

There seems to be no trace of clan or totemic grouping among the Bagobo. Blood relationship is traced as far as the second cousin and is a bar to marriage. The suggestion that a man might marry his mother-in-law was received with horror, but whether this was due to local mother-in-law stories or to an idea of relationship could not be ascertained, However, a man may marry the sister of his wife.

Each district has its head man, or petty *datu* who is supposed to be subject to the *datu* of Cibolan. This seems actually to have been the case until a few years ago, when some of the local rulers withdrew their allegiance. The office is hereditary and usually passes from the father to his eldest son. Should the *datu* be without an heir, or the son be considered inefficient, the under chiefs and wise old men may choose a leader from among their number.

In his own district the power of the *datu* is very great, but even he is obliged to respect the laws and customs handed down by the ancestors. He is supreme judge in all matters, though he may, if he desires, call in the old men to help him decide difficult cases. The usual method of punishment is by means of a fine. Should the culprit be unwilling or unable to pay he is placed in servitude until such a time as the debt is considered canceled, but should he refuse to serve he is killed without further ado. The *datu* appoints a man for this purpose, and he usually gets his victim by stealth, either by waylaying him in the road or by driving a spear through him as he lies asleep on the floor of his house. When a fine is levied the *datu* retains a portion as pay for his services; if the more drastic punishment follows it serves to emphasize his power and is more valuable to him than the payment. When his house needs repairing, his hemp requires stripping, or his fields need attention, his followers give him assistance. In return for these services he helps support a number of fighting men who can always be called upon for

[1] See p. 107.

Digitized by Google

the defence of the people. His house is considered the property of all to the extent that anyone goes there at any time and stays as long as he pleases, partaking meanwhile of the *datu's* food. In times of danger, or during festivals, all the people assemble there and assist in the defense or the merry-making.

Datu Tongkaling is the most industrious man in the tribe. He does not hesitate to work in the rice fields, to aid in the house-building or to take his turn at the forge, neither will he tolerate any loafing on the part of his followers. While in most instances he mingles freely with his people he never eats with them. His wives, children, and guests eat from a long row of dishes set on the floor, but the *datu* takes his food alone at a considerable distance from the others.

The balance of the people can be roughly divided between freeman and slaves, but slavery here is of such a mild type, and the members of that class become so quickly merged into the tribe that the lines cannot be closely drawn. Women and children secured in raids become the slaves of their captors, and may be bought and sold, or pass by inheritance, like other property. It is considered proper for a man to live with his slave without marrying her, but should she become pregnant she is usually given her freedom at once; if not then, she is certain to be upon the death of her master, while her offspring are free and legitimate heirs. Children born to a slave couple remain in their class, as do those born to a slave mother and a man not her master. These slaves are treated with kindness and consideration and seldom try to make their escape. In fact it is often difficult to pick out the members of this class from the other members of the family.

The chief aim in life of the man is to have the right to wear the blood-red clothing and to be known as *magaṅi*. As stated earlier in the paper, this term is applied to a man who has killed two or more persons. He is then entitled to wear the peculiar chocolate-colored head covering (Plate XXV). When his score has reached four he can don blood-red trousers, and when he has six lives to his credit he is permitted to wear the complete blood-red suit and to carry a bag of the same color.[1] From that time on his clothing does not change with the number of his victims, but his influence increases with each life put to his credit. It is said that formerly, at Digos and Bansalan, a man who had killed twenty or more was known as *gemáwan*, and was distinguished by a black hemp suit. This claim to the black clothing is no longer respected, and such garments are worn by any who desire

[1] This is the rule at Cibolan. At Malilla and Digos, the kerchief may be worn when one life has been taken, the trousers for two, the coat for three, and finally the sack for four.

Digitized by Google

them. The man who has never killed a person is called *matálo*, a rather slighting term signifying one who has no desire to fight but remains at home with the women. A man who kills an unfaithful wife and her admirer may count the two on his score. He may also count those of his townspeople whom he has killed in fair fight, but unprovoked murder will be punished by the death of the offender. The candidate for *magaṅi* honors may go to an unfriendly town, or to a neighboring tribe, and kill without fear of censure from his own people.

The *magaṅi* is one of the leaders in a war party; he is chosen to inflict the death penalty when it is decreed, and it is men of this class that assist in the human sacrifices. He is under the special protection of Mandarangan and Darago, and all petitions to these powerful spirits must be made through him. His clothing is considered the property of these spirits, and when such specimens were secured for the collection, the wearer would invariably place the garment beside some prized article, such as a knife or spear, then taking a green betel nut would rub the garment and object, meanwhile beseeching the spirits to leave the one and enter the other. Later the nut was placed in the *tambara* belonging to those spirits. A father may not bequeath to his son the right to the red clothing; and such articles, together with his weapons, should be buried with him. Should one not entitled to these garments dare to make use of them, the spirits would straightway cause his body to swell or turn yellow, and he would die.

In a previous paragraph we mentioned the unorganized priesthood, the members of which are known as *mabalṫan*. Men are not barred from this profession, but the greater number of its members are old, or middle-aged, women.[1] A woman may live the greater part of her life without an idea of becoming a member of this order, and then suddenly be warned in dreams, by visions, or by other *mabalṫan* that she has been chosen by the spirits. The one thus elected becomes a pupil of a qualified *mabalṫan*, and for several months will be drilled in the duties of that office. She will be taught the medicines to be used at certain times,[2] the duties of a midwife, the correct method of building shrines and conducting ceremonies, and finally, she will learn the prayers with which the spirits should be addressed. It seems to be the belief that, at times during the ceremonies, the *mabalṫan* may be possessed by a spirit and that she then speaks not as a mortal but as the spirit itself. She also knows how to weave and dye the turban worn by the *magaṅi*, and because of this accomplishment is considered

[1] There are five *mabalṫan* in Cibolan, all of whom are women past middle life.
[2] A medicine is used with the idea that it assists in driving away evil influences.

Digitized by Google

to be under the protection of Baitpandi,[1] and is permitted to wear garments made of red cloth, the same as the *magani*.

The workers in the various crafts are under the guidance and protection of special spirits, but there is no bar against other members of the tribe entering those professions.

Apparently then, Bagobo society is divided into several classes or divisions, but with the exception of a few individuals in the slave class, there is a possibility or an opportunity for each member of the tribe to enter any class open to his or her sex. Even a slave woman may become the wife of a *datu*, and her son may assume the leadership of the tribe.

LAWS. PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE.

The laws of the people are those imposed by custom and religion, and are equally binding on all classes. Public opinion is sufficient to prevent most crimes; the fear of offending the spirits is a further deterrent; while the final bar is the drastic punishment meted out by the *datu*. Theft is punished by the levying of a fine if the culprit is able to pay, or by a term of servitude if he has no property. If a husband finds that his wife has been unfaithful, he should kill both her and her admirer, but the spear with which he avenges his wrongs should be left in the body of one of the victims, as a sign that the murder was provoked by the fault. When this is done the husband cannot be held accountable either to the *datu* or to the dead person's relatives. If, however, he withdraws the weapon, the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased have a right and a duty to avenge the deaths. A man who has killed his wife and her lover is allowed to count both on his score towards becoming a *magani*—a further incentive for him to avenge his wrongs. Cases are known where the husband accepted payment for his wife's affections, but it was considered a sign of weakness, or cowardice, and the man lost caste. Unprovoked murder of one from the same or a friendly village is punished by death.

A man having illicit relations with a slave woman, not his own, is subjected to a heavy fine or a term of servitude. Incest should be punished by the death of the culprits for should such a crime go unpunished the spirits would cause the sea to rise and cover the land. Datu Tongkaling claims that on two occasions, since he became ruler, he has put such offenders to death. In the first case he had the couple bound and thrown into the sea, while in the second instance, they were tied to trees in the forest and sacrificed in the presence of all the people of the village.

[1] The patron spirit of the weavers.

Digitized by Google

Prohibitions exist against the wearing of the clothing which distinguishes warriors and priestesses, and there are rules governing the conduct of individuals while near shrines or during ceremonies, but punishment for the breaking of these rules is meted out by the spirits rather than by the *datu*.

Each settlement is recognized as having property rights to all adjacent lands. Within these recognized limits, its members may take up as much land as they need, provided it is not already in use, but when a field is, for any reason, abandoned it again becomes the property of the community. Individual ownership extends to houses, furnishings, and all articles of clothing, as well as to weapons, traps, animals, and slaves. Although bought with a price the wife is still very independent and has undisputed rights to her baskets, cooking utensils, looms, and to the finery with which she adorns her person.

Since all the people assist in the support of the *datu* they consider his home to be, to a certain extent, their own and make use of it and its furnishings without question.

Probably at no place in the world has borrowing gone to greater extremes than here. When attempting to purchase clothing, or articles in daily use, the writer frequently found that not a single garment worn by an individual was his own; and it was usually necessary to consult several persons in order to secure a complete outfit.

Upon the death of a man, his property is taken in charge by his first wife, or by the old men, and is divided equally among his wives and children, with perhaps a little extra added to the share of the first mate. The belongings of a free-born woman go to her children, or, in case she is barren, are given to her relatives. In cases where both the parents are dead, the children pass into the care of the father's family.

Despite the fact that property is owned by individuals, a large part of the labor, especially in house-building and in the fields, is done in common. When a man desires to clear or plant a field or to build a house, he summons his friends to aid him and they respond with no idea of payment other than their food and drink, and the return of like services when they are in similar need.

BIRTH.

For about six months before and after the birth of a child the mother is relieved from hard labor; she is not allowed to taste of anything sour, neither may she eat dried fish or flesh, lest her child be thin and weak. The father is under no restrictions other than that he is expected to remain near to his home for a few days following the birth of a child.

Digitized by Google

Other action on his part would be considered by the spirits as an admission that he does not care for the child, and they would cause the umbilical cord to decay so that the child would die. The mother is delivered in the regular dwelling, where she is attended by two or more midwives or *mabalĭan*.[1] She is placed with her back against an inclined board, while in her hands she holds a rope which is attached to the roof. With the initial pains, one of the midwives massages the abdomen, while another prepares a drink made from leaves, roots, and bark, and gives it to the expectant woman. The preparation of this concoction was taught by friendly spirits, and it is supposed to insure an easy delivery. Still another *mabalĭan* spreads a mat in the middle of the room, and on it places valuable cloths, weapons, and gongs, which she offers to the spirits, praying that they will make the birth easy and give good health to the infant. The articles offered at this time can be used by their former owners but as they are now the property of the spirits they must not be sold or traded. The writer was very anxious to secure an excellent weapon which had been thus offered. The user finally agreed to part with it but first he placed it beside another of equal value, and taking a piece of betel nut he rubbed each weapon with it a number of times, then dipping his fingers in the water he touched both the old and the new blades, all the time asking the spirit to accept and enter the new weapon. The child is removed by the *mabalĭan* who, in cutting the umbilical cord, makes use of the kind of knife used by the members of the child's sex, otherwise the wound would never heal. The child is placed on a piece of soft betel bark, "for its bones are soft and our hands are hard and are apt to break the soft bones," then water is poured over it and its body is rubbed with *pogónōk*.[2] The afterbirth is placed in a bamboo tube, is covered with ashes and a leaf, and the whole is hung against the side of the dwelling where it remains until it falls of its own accord or the house is destroyed. In Cibolan the midwife applies a mixture of clay and herbs called *karamir* to the eyes of all who have witnessed the birth "so that they will not become blind." Having done this she gives the child its name, usually that of a relative, and her duties are over. As payment she will receive a large and a small knife, a plate, some cloth, and a needle.[3]

In Malilla the naming does not take place until three days after the birth, and the eyes are not always anointed, although the old people agree that it is an ancient custom and "a good thing to do." At that

[1] In Cibolan the midwife is called *taratEk-Ekn*, and need not be a *mabalĭan*.
[2] A medicine made of bark and rattan.
[3] The payment given at the birth of a boy is somewhat greater than that for a girl.

Digitized by Google

time the mat containing the gifts is spread on the floor and the offerings are again called to the attention of the spirits, who are urged to look to the welfare of the child. Should the infant be ailing, or cry a great deal, it is a sign that the spirits are displeased with the name given to it and another will be substituted; however, this does not seem to be done with an idea of fooling the spirits, as is the case with some other tribes. The child is nursed until two or three years of age, or until another takes its place. There is no superstition concerning twins, but triplets are at once put to death by filling their mouths with ashes, otherwise "the parents would die, for they are like dogs."

When questioned concerning abortion, Datu Tongkaling asserted that he considered it "very bad," and that he would prohibit any *mabaltan* who assisted in such a practice from continuing her profession, but he said that despite his orders secret medicines which produce that result are sometimes administered. Such a practice is not common, however, as children are greatly desired and no worse slur can be applied to a woman than to speak of her as barren.

So far as could be learned there is no ceremony or celebration of any kind when a child reaches the age of puberty but soon thereafter its teeth will be filed and blackened. In some villages the boys are circumcised, but the practice is not compulsory, neither is it general throughout the territory.

MARRIAGE.

Marriage among the Bagobo takes place much later than is common among most Philippine tribes, the couple often being eighteen or twenty years of age. As a rule the parents of the boy select the girl and negotiate the match. Going to the house of the girl they casually broach the subject and if her parents are favorable, a day is set to discuss the details. This meeting is attended by the friends and relatives of both families, and two head-men or *datu* must also be present to represent the contracting parties. The price the girl should bring varies according to the wealth of the interested parties and the accomplishments of the bride. Whatever the sum paid, the father of the girl must make a return present equal to one-half the value of the marriage gift "so that he does not sell his daughter like a slave." Usually marriage does not take place until a year or more after this settlement, and during the interval the boy must serve his father-in-law to be. When the time for the final ceremony arrives the relatives and friends assemble and for two or three days they feast and make merry. A *mabaltan* spreads a mat on the floor, places on it many valuable articles and then offers all to the spirits, in order that they may be pleased to give the couple a

Digitized by Google

long and prosperous life together. Finally, she puts a dish of rice on the mat and, after offering it to the spirits, places it between the boy and the girl as they sit on the floor. The girl takes a handful of the rice and feeds it to the boy who, in turn, feeds her, and the ceremony is complete. The couple may then go to their new home, but for several years the girl's family will exact a certain amount of service from the groom.

A slight variation of the usual order occurred recently at the marriage of one of Datu Tongkaling's sons. At that time all the details were arranged by the *datu*, who, accompanied by his son and a number of relatives, went to the girl's house and proposed the union. After the girl had brought wine, betel nut, and food, and had placed them before the visitors, she was directed by her mother to make a carrying bag for her lover. Had she objected to the union and refused to make this gift, her decision would probably have been accepted as final and all negotiations abandoned. However, it is not customary for the young people to refuse to carry out the wishes of their elders. As the girl offered no objections, the party fell to discussing the price the groom should pay, and finally, after several hours of bargaining, decided that he should furnish her father with one *agong*,[1] one horse, and a double betel box.[2] Five days later, when he paid this sum, he received a return gift of one *agong* and ten skirts from the bride's mother. About one-half the value of the groom's gift was distributed among the girl's relatives, who were at the same time admonished that, in case a separation should occur, they would be expected to return an equal amount. In the presence of about a hundred friends, the pair drank wine from the same dish, then submitted to having a little hair cut from their heads, and were pronounced man and wife. Before they retired for the night the *mabalian* combed their hair, then, having directed the groom to precede his bride to their sleeping place, she secured a child and placed it on the mat between the pair. This, she explained, was an old custom, and was done so that the girl might not be ashamed, for she was not the first to sleep there. Having finished this duty, she returned to the center of the room and placed a number of plates and a knife on the *tambara*, where they were allowed to remain for four days as offerings to the *anito*, Manama, Toglái and the *tigyama*.[3] At the end of that period the plates were attached to the outside walls of the house, and the knife returned to its former owner. This completed

[1] Large copper gong.

[2] Much more is often given. One girl in Cibolan brought six horses, five agongs, and several spears and knives.

[3] See p. 107.

Digitized by Google

the duties of the *mabaltan* who returned home carrying an *agong*[1], the payment for her services.

A man may have as many wives as he desires and can afford, but he may not take a second mate until a child has been born to the first union, or the wife has been proved beyond doubt to be barren. The groom renders no services to the father of the second wife, but instead of this pays a double price for the girl, for he not only pays her parents but is forced also to give a like sum to his first wife, who, in turn, presents it to her father. Should a third wife be added to the family a sum equal to her cost is divided among the earlier wives. The first wife is generally the lady of the house and does not particularly object to having other girls added to the family, provided they are willing to obey her. Datu Tongkaling has had four wives, three of whom are still living.

If a couple cannot agree, a separation can be arranged by applying to the local head-man, who, after listening to their troubles, decides which one is at fault, and whether or no the marriage gifts must be returned. When a couple parts, plates, bowls, and jars are sometimes broken as a sign that they will never live together again and the spirits are thus called to witness. A divorced woman may remarry, but unless the sum originally paid for her has been returned, the new groom must pay such an amount to the first husband.

SICKNESS AND DEATH.

In case of illness a *mabaltan* administers some simple remedy without any call on the spirits. If, however, the sickness does not yield readily to this treatment, it is evident that the trouble is caused by some spirit who can only be appeased by a gift. Betel nuts, leaves, food, clothing, and some article in daily use by the patient are placed in a dish of palm bark and on top of all is laid a roughly carved figure of a man. This offering is passed over the body of the patient while the *mabaltan* addresses the spirits as follows. "Now, you can have the man on this dish, for we have changed him for the sick man. Pardon anything this man may have done, and let him be well again." Immediately after this the dish is carried away and hidden so that the sick person may never see it again, for should he do so the illness would return.

According to Father GISBERT a doll is carved from a piece of wood and the spirit is addressed: "O God, Thou who has created men and trees, and all things, do not deprive us of life, and receive in exchange this bit of wood which has our face."

Digitized by Google

In obstinate cases the invalid may be removed from his own house to another, in order that he may be under the care of the good spirits residing there. The *mabaltan* appplies certain medicines and then decrees a period of taboo, during which no outsiders may enter the house. Those within at the time the medicine was given may go out if they desire, but must return there to sleep. Should it become evident that the patient will die he is taken back to his own place, otherwise his family would be called upon to reimburse the owner of the house in which the death occurs, for bringing evil or unfriendly spirits into their dwelling.

Governor Bolton describes a somewhat different procedure among the members of the Guianga branch of this tribe. Having learned that Datu Angalan was ill he went to see him, but found his house deserted. The *datu* was finally located in a small hut about a hundred yards away from his own dwelling, with no attendants. The governor writes, "When I went in the tribesmen entered. I soon found that I had broken a charm which prevented anyone seeing him for a certain time; that he had been placed in the hut for that reason, and to insure his not dying in the large house. It is likely that they had a human sacrifice at that time."[1]

Following a death the body is covered with good clothing and is placed in the middle of the house. Wailers sit by the corpse, fanning it to keep away flies, or making an occasional offering of food; while the friends gather to talk of the virtues of the deceased, to console the family, and to partake of the food and drink which has been provided for the gathering. The body is kept over one night, and in the case of great personages, for three days, or until the coffin—a large log split in halves and hollowed out—is prepared. When this is ready the body is placed in it, together with some prized articles of the deceased. After the top has been fitted to the lower portion, they are lashed together and the cracks are filled with lime.[2] The body is buried beneath the house, and the grave is protected by a bamboo fence, within which is placed food, small offerings, or perhaps a shield and spear. In some instances the coffin is allowed to remain in the house, which is then abandoned. It is said that when Datu Taopan died his funeral lasted ten days, and on the last day the house was decked, inside and out, with flowers and valuable gifts, and was then deserted.

[1] Extract from letters of Gov. Bolton, in files of the Governor at Davao.

[2] When the deceased has been a person of note the coffin is sometimes decorated or colored. The coffin of a *magani* should be red, yellow, and black; while that of a *mabaltan* should be yellow, black, and brown.

Digitized by Google

Following the burial the family lives in the house where the death occurred until a human sacrifice has been made. During this period they live very quietly, eat poor food, wear old clothing, and abstain from all amusements. If their wealth permits, they may shorten the period of mourning by making a special sacrifice, but in most cases the bereaved will wait until the yearly sacrifice when they will purchase a share in the victim and thus remove the taboo. Following the offering, the old house is abandoned and is allowed to fall to pieces for "the man has gone and his house must go also." The procedure is the same for women, and for children who have survived infancy.

BELIEFS CONCERNING THE SOUL, SPIRITS, ORACLES, AND MAGIC.

There is some variance, in different parts of the Bagobo area, in the beliefs concerning the spirits or souls of a man. In Cibolan each man and woman is supposed to have eight spirits or *gimokod*, which dwell in the head, the right and left hands and feet, and other parts not specified. At death these *gimokod* part, four from the right side of the body, going up to a place called *palakalángìt*, and four descending to a region known as *karonaronawan*. These places differ in no respects from the present home of the Bagobo, except that in the region above it is always day, and all useful plants grow in abundance. In these places the *gimokod* are met by the spirits, Toglái and Tigyama, and by them are assigned to their future homes. If a man has been a *datu* on earth, his spirits have like rank in the other life, but go to the same place as those of common people. The *gimokod* of evil men are punished by being crowded into poor houses. These spirits may return to their old home for short periods, and talk with the *gimokod* of the living through dreams, but they never return to dwell again on earth.

In the districts to the west of Cibolan the general belief is that there are but two *gimokod*, one inhabiting the right side of the body, the other the left. That of the right side is good, while all evil deeds and inclinations come from the one dwelling on the left. It is a common thing when a child is ill to attach a chain bracelet to its right arm and to bid the good spirit not to depart, but to remain and restore the child to health. In Malilla it is believed that after death the spirit of the right side goes to a good place, while the one on the left remains to wander about on earth as a *buso*;[1] but this latter belief does not seem to be shared by the people of other districts.

[1] See p. 107.

Digitized by Google

Aside from the *gimokod* the Bagobo believe that there exists a great company of powerful spirits who make their homes in the sky above, in the space beneath the world, or in the sea, in streams, cliffs, mountains, or trees. The following is the list related by Datu Tongkaling, a number of *mabalĭan*, and others supposed to have special knowledge concerning these superior beings.

I. Eugpamolak Manobo, also called Manama and Kalayágan. The first and greatest of the spirits, and the creator of all that is. His home is in the sky from whence he can observe the doings of men. Gifts for him should be white, and should be placed above and in the center of offerings intended for other spirits. He may be addressed by the *mabalaĭn*, the *datu*, and wise old men.

II. Tolus ka balakat, "dweller in the *balakat*[1]." A male spirit who loves the blood, but not the flesh of human beings, and one of the three for whom the yearly sacrifice is made. Only the *magant* may offer petitions to him. He is not recognized by the people of Digos and vicinity.

III and IV. Mandarangan and his wife Darago. This couple look after the fortunes of the warriors, and in return demand the yearly sacrifice of a slave. They are supposed to dwell in the great fissure of Mt. Apo, from which clouds of sulphur fumes are constantly rising. The intentions of this pair are evil, and only the utmost care on the part of the *magant* can prevent them from causing quarrels and dissentions among the people, or even actually devouring some of them.

V. Taragómi. A male spirit who owns all food. He is the guardian of the crops and it is for him that the shrine known as *parobanĭan* is erected in the center of the rice field.

VI. Tolus ka towangan. The patron of the workers in brass and copper.

VII. Tolus ka gomanan. Patron of the smiths.

VIII. Baĭtpandĭ. A female spirit who taught the women to weave, and who now presides over the looms and the weavers.

IX. and X. Toglái, also called Sĭ Nĭladan and Manĭládan, and his wife Toglibon. The first man and woman to live on the earth. They gave to the people their language and customs. After their death they became spirits, and are now responsible for all marriages and births. By some people Toglái is believed to be one of the judges over the shades of the dead, while in Bansalan he is identified with Eugpamolak Manobo.

[1] A hanger in which offerings are placed.

Digitized by Google

XI. Tigyama. A class of spirits, one of whom looks after each family. When children marry, the *tigyama* of the two families unite to form one who thereafter guards the couple. While usually well disposed they are capable of killing those who fail to show them respect, or who violate the rules governing family life.

XII. Diwata. A class of numerous spirits who serve Eugpamolak Manobo.

XIII. Anito. A name applied to a great body of spirits, some of whom are said formerly to have been people. They know all medicines and cures for illness, and it is from them that the *mabaltan* secures her knowledge and her power. They also assist the *tigyama* in caring for the families.

XIV. Buso. Mean, evil spirits who eat dead people and have some power to injure the living. A young Bagobo described his idea of a *buso* as follows: "He has a long body, long feet and neck, curly hair, and black face, flat nose, and one big red or yellow eye. He has big feet and fingers, but small arms, and his two big teeth are long and pointed. Like a dog he goes about eating anything, even dead persons." As already noted, the people of Malilla are inclined to identify the *gimokod* of the left side with this evil class.

XV. Tagamáling. Evil spirits who dwell in big trees.

XVI. Tigbanua. Ill disposed beings inhabiting rocks and cliffs in the mountains. These last two classes are frequently confused with the *buso*.

In addition to these, the old men of Malilla gave the following:

1. Tagareso. Low spirits who cause people to become angry and to do little evil deeds. In some cases they cause insanity.

2. Sarinago. Spirits who steal rice. It is best to appease them, otherwise the supply of rice will vanish rapidly.

3. Tagasoro. Beings who cause sudden anger which results in quarrels and death. They are the ones who furnish other spirits with human flesh.

4 and 5. Balinonok and his wife Balinsogo. This couple love blood and for this reason cause men and women to fight or to run amuck.

6. Siring. Mischievous spirits who inhabit caves, cliffs, and dangerous places. They have long nails and can be distinguished by that characteristic. They sometimes impersonate members of the family and thus succeed in stealing women and children, whom they carry to their mountain homes. The captives are not eaten but are fed on snakes and worms, and should they try to escape the *siring* will scratch them with their long nails.

Digitized by Google

Other spirits were named and described by individuals, but as they are not generally accepted by the people of the tribe they are not mentioned here.

The stars, thunder and lightning, and similar phenomena are generally considered as "lights or signs" belonging to the spirits, yet one frequently hears hazy tales such as that "the constellation Marara is a one-legged and one-armed man who sometimes causes cloudy weather at planting time so that people may not see his deformities," or we are told that "the sun was placed in the sky by the creator, and on it lives an evil spirit who sometimes kills people. The sun is moved about by the wind;" again, "the sun and moon were once married and all the stars are their children."

Despite repeated assertions by previous writers that the Bagobo are fire-worshippers no evidence was obtained during our visit to support the statement. The older people insisted that it was not a spirit and that no offerings were ever made to it. One *mabaltan* stated that fire was injurious to a woman in her periods and hence it was best for her not to cook at such times; she was also of the opinion that fire was of two kinds, good and bad, and hence might belong to both good and bad spirits.

A common method used by the spirits to communicate with mortals is through the call of the *limokon*.[1] All the people know the meaning of its calls and all respect its warnings. If a man is starting to buy or trade for an article and this bird gives its warning the sale is stopped. Should the *limokon* call when a person is on the trail he at once doubles his fist and thrusts it in the direction from which the warning comes. If it becomes necessary to point backwards, it is a signal to return, or should the arm point directly in front it is certain that danger is there, and it is best to turn back and avoid it. When it is not clear from whence the note came, the traveler looks toward the right side. If he sees there strong, sturdy trees, he knows that all is well, but if they are cut or weaklings, he should use great care to avoid impending danger. When questioned as to why one should look only to the right, an old man quickly replied: "The right side belongs to you; the left side is bad and belongs to someone else."

Sneezing is a bad omen, and should a person sneeze when about to undertake a journey, he knows that it is a warning of danger, and will delay until another time.

Certain charms, or actions, are of value either in warding off evil spirits, in causing trouble or death to an enemy, or in gaining an ad-

[1] See p. 63, note.

Digitized by Google

vantage over another in trading and in games. One type of charm is a narrow cloth belt in which "medicines" are tied. These medicines may be peculiarly shaped stones, bits of fungus growth, a tooth, shell, or similar object. Such belts are known as *pamadan*, or *lambos*, and are worn soldier-fashion over one shoulder. They are supposed to protect their owners in battle or to make it easy for them to get the best of other parties in a trade. A little dust gathered from the foot-print of an enemy and placed in one of these belts will immediately cause the foe to become ill.

It is a simple matter to cause a person to become insane. All that is needed is to secure a piece of his hair, or clothing, place it in a dish of water and stir in one direction for several hours.

Father GISBERT relates the following method of detecting theft:

"There are not, as a rule, many thefts among the Bagobo, for they believe that a thief can be discovered easily by means of their famous *bongat*. That consists of two small joints of bamboo, which contain certain mysterious powders. He who has been robbed and wishes to determine the robber takes a hen's egg, makes a hole in it, puts a pinch of the above said powder in it, and leaves it in the fire. If he wishes the robber to die he has nothing else to do than to break the egg; but since the thief may sometimes be a relative or a beloved person, the egg is not usually broken, so that there may be or may be able to be a remedy. For under all circumstances, when this operation is performed, if the robber lives, wherever he may be, he himself must inform on himself by crying out, 'I am the thief; I am the thief,' as he is compelled to do (they say) by the sharp pain which he feels all through his body. When he is discovered, he may be cured by putting powder from the other joint into the water and bathing his body with it. This practice is very common here among the heathens and Moros. A Bagobo, named Anas, who was converted, gave me the *bongat* with which he had frightened many people when a heathen."

In Bansalan crab shells are hung over the doors of houses, for these shells are distasteful to the *buso* who will thus be kept at a distance.

I was frequently told of persons who could foretell the future by means of palmistry, but was never able to see a palmist at work, or to verify the information.

MUSIC, DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

The music for the dances is generally furnished by one or more persons beating on several *agongs* of different sizes and notes, which are suspended in regular order from the house rafters (Plate XXXa).

Digitized by Google

The player stands in front of the line and begins to beat the instruments with a padded stick. Oftentimes he is accompanied by a man who strikes a wooden drum with the palm of one hand and a stick held in the other. The music grows faster, emphasizing certain beats, until it becomes a compelling rhythm that starts the feet of the onlookers, and suddenly a man or woman begins to dance. At first she keeps time to the music by raising on her toes and heels, bending the knees and twisting the body from side to side, but soon she becomes more animated, the feet are raised high above the floor and brought down with a sort of shuffle which reminds one of the sound made by the feet of a clog dancer. Still swaying her body, she begins to circle, contra-clockwise, around the gongs, and soon she is joined by others until all the dancing space is filled. The scene is most picturesque, for these dances usually occur at night, in rooms illuminated only by the flickering light of torches. The rich clothing of the participants loses nothing of its beauty in this dim light, while the bells and rattles with which each dancer surrounds arms, legs and ankles, add to the din and weirdness of the occasion. Before the dance has progressed far the musicians begin to keep time with their feet and frequently dance away from their instruments, circle, and then return to continue the music.

With slight variation, this is the dance used on all occasions. At certain ceremonies small gongs, or the *bolang bolang*,[1] replace the *agongs*, and at times also a single dancer will accompany himself on the *kodlofi* — a long wooden guitar with rattan strings (Plate XXXb).

FIG. 33.
TAW-GAU OR BAMBOO GUITAR.

In this description we have named a large share of the musical instruments used by the Bagobo. The women frequently play on a sort of guitar made of a section of bamboo from the outside of which narrow strings are cut. These are raised and made taut with small wooden bridges and are then picked with a stick or the fingers (Fig. 33). Bamboo Jew's-harps and mouth flutes are played by the men, but the

[1] An instrument made by placing a small board on a rice mortar. This is pounded or beaten with short sticks, or with the wooden pestles.

Digitized by Google

nose flute, so common in most parts of the Philippines, was not seen in use here.

The ceremonies and dances are so closely associated with every day affairs that in the description of the life of the people up to this point we have left only a few still to be discussed. These are, in the main, very similar throughout the Bagobo belt, but to avoid confusion the description here given of the two greatest events of the year—the *GînEm* ceremony and the human sacrifice—deals with Cibolan, unless expressly stated to the contrary.

The greatest of all Bagobo ceremonies—the *GînEm*—may be given by the *datu* within three or four months after the appearance of the constellation *Balatik*, when the moon is new or full. Its object is to thank the spirits for success in war or domestic affairs, to ward off sickness and other dangers, to drive away the *buso*, and finally to so gratify the spirits that they will be pleased to increase the wealth of all the people. Datu Tongkaling expressed a belief that this ceremony is in a way related to the rice harvest, "for it is always made when there is plenty of rice in the granaries." It appears to the writer, however, that this ceremony probably originated in connection with warfare.

According to the tales of the old men, it was formerly the custom to go on a raid before this ceremony was to take place, and successful warriors would bring home with them the skulls of their victims which they tied to the *patan'nan*.[1] It seems also to have been closely associated with the yearly sacrifice, for it was never made until after the appearance of the constellation *Balatik*, and without doubt a sacrifice frequently did take place during the first day of the ceremony, at the time the decorated poles were raised. However, such an offering at this time did not relieve the *datu* from the obligation of making the regular sacrifice.

Datu Ansig of Talun informed me that, unless the death of some great person made a special sacrifice necessary, there was only one such offering made during the year, and that at the time the decorated poles were placed in the dwelling.

The time for the festival having been agreed upon, messsengers are sent to other *datu* and head-men, inviting them and their people to attend. Sufficient food is prepared for the guests and when all is ready the *mabalîan* takes one chicken from among those to be used for food and frees it as an offering to the *gimokod*. It is bidden to wander

[1] Ceremonial poles dedicated to Mandarangan and Darago. In Digos and Bansalan the skulls were not taken but hair cut from the heads of enemies was placed in the swinging altar *balakat*, and were left there until the conclusion of the ceremony.

Digitized by Google

about in the forest, and no one will molest the fowl, for should he do so he is certain to become ill.[1] The *mabalian* has previously placed festoons of leaves and vines at various points in the house and now she spreads a mat on the floor. A jar of *balaba*, wine, stands at each corner, while at one end is an *agong*, and a plate containing betel nut, leaf, and two varieties of rattan; at the other end are several *tambara*. When all is thus prepared the people place offerings of beautiful clothing, knives, and other costly gifts on the mat. Two *mabalian*, a man and a woman call upon the spirits,[2] urging them to look with favor on the offering made by the people, to grant them a good year with health and plentiful harvests, to let their journeys be without mishap, and to keep them all under their constant care. The *tambara* are fastened in various parts of the house, and the gifts are hung on or laid beside them. Later these offerings may be removed by their former owners who now regard them as being loaned to them by the spirits.

Following the offering the *magani* go to a bamboo thicket and cut two large poles, one nine sections long, the other eight. With each stroke of the knife the men give their battle cry, then when the poles are felled, all seize hold and carry them to the house of the *datu*. Here they are decorated, first by being cut down for short distances, thus leaving the lower part attached so that the shavings make a sort of fringe, and then by attaching strips of palm or bamboo leaves and cloth or palm leaf streamers. When complete these poles are known as *patan'nan* and are then the property of the spirits Mandanagan and Darago. The longer one is for the male spirit, while the one of eight sections is for his wife. Under no circumstances may anyone not a *magani* touch these poles. They are carried into the house and are fastened near to the elevated platform at the end of the room where the *datu* or leading *magani* stands ready to sacrifice a chicken. He allows some of the blood from the offering to drip onto the poles, at the same time begging the spirits not to let the people fight or quarrel during the *GinEm*, "for blood is now being offered." In at least two recent offerings the *datu* urged the spirits to be content with this offering of a fowl, since it was impossible for them to kill a man. At this time, it is said, the skulls of enemies should be attached to the *patan'nan*. As the leader finishes his offering, the men and boys gather about the poles and yell lustily, then sit quietly down and amuse themselves by chewing betel nut until the chicken, just killed, and the other food

[1] This offering is not made at Bansalan, neither has the *mabalian* any part in the ceremonies of the first day.

[2] Those called at this time are Toglái, Toglibon, *tigyma*, and Kalayágan—Eugpamolak Manobo.

Digitized by Google

has been prepared for eating. Old dishes are placed in the center of the floor and in them food is offered for all the spirits, but in the exact center of all is a large plate of white food for the supreme being. A second large dish of food is placed in a *tambara* at the corner of the room as an offering to the warrior deities "so that they will not eat anyone during the fiesta." Again the spirits are besought to give them a good year, with abundant crops, health, and success in war. Going to the *patan'nan* each *magant*, beginning with the *datu* or his son, takes hold of the poles, and in a loud voice, begins to confess all his warlike deeds. He relates how and when he killed his victims, the number of sacrifices he has participated in, the towns he has sacked and the slaves he has captured. In short, he tells of all the manly deeds he has performed in order to gain the right to wear his red suit and be known as *magant*. When all have confessed, the men and boys eat the chicken which was sacrificed before the poles, and from then until near midnight, all the people may dance to the music of the *agongs* or may indulge in feasting and drinking. From the middle of the night until daybreak they chant songs or poems, many words of which are now obsolete so that they are not fully understood.[1]

The festival may last one or more days. The last held in Cibolan (1909) extended through two days and nights. At that time no offerings were made to the spirits on the second day, but the people feasted and drank while the *datu* gathered a little apart and held a council.

In Malilla the second day of this ceremony is called *EgbikbEgáybe* and is given over almost entirely to the women. Two *tambara* are erected in the house, and young betel nut buds and women's skirts are hung on them. The women and some men form a line and dance in a circle around the offerings, keeping time to music furnished by beating small gongs, or by pounding on a board resting on a rice mortar.[2] Before each dance the *mabalian* informs a spirit that this dance is for him and it is customary to add a gift of some kind to those already on the *tambara*. Sixteen spirits are thus honored. Throughout the day there is much feasting and drinking, and at some time before sunset the women are baptized. Having filled an old agong with water, the *mabalian* dips certain leaves into it and sprinkles the heads of the women present eight times, meanwhile bidding the spirits to grant to them a good mind and habit.

[1] Mr. Gohn informs me that at midnight during the last *GinEm* made by Datu Ali in Santa Cruz, a gun was fired, and the *datu* said that a sacrifice should have taken place at that time.

[2] See p. 110, note.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Gohn, a planter of Santa Cruz who has witnessed a number of these ceremonies, says that with the Bagobo of that place it was customary for the *datu* to baptize the women prior to the day of *GînEm*. On the second day, a *mabaltan* provided a long palm leaf, and a number of betel nut buds which, she said, represented streams, rivers, tribes, and individuals. Taking up a bud she swung the palm leaf above it, chanting meanwhile, and, as she finished, handed it to the *datu* who opened it and read the signs sent by the spirits. At the conclusion of this act, all the women went to the river to bathe.

In the writings of the early missionary fathers stationed among the Bagobo are found many references to human sacrifices. Since American occupation several articles have appeared describing this custom, and following the sacrifice held in Talun in 1907, this practice became the subject of official communication between the Governor of the District and his superiors. While these descriptions agree, in the main, there are so many minor variations that it seems best to first relate the account given to the writer by Datu Tongkaling and ten of his *magant*, after which we shall take up some of the earlier accounts, and the official correspondence of 1907.

Datu Tongkaling is a *magant*. He claims to have killed more than thirty of his enemies in fair fight and to have assisted in, or to have witnessed, an even greater number of sacrifices. Prior to his elevation to the office of *datu* he had aided in several of the yearly offerings. At the time he became *datu* he entertained all his people for seven days and on the morning of the last day, in the presence of his subjects, he alone sacrificed a decrepit Bila-an slave for whom he had paid three *agongs*. Hence, probably, no man in the tribe is better fitted to describe this event than he.

According to him, a sacrifice should be held each year following the appearance in the sky of a constellation of seven stars known as *Balatik* ("pig trap").[1] The stars are placed there by the spirits for two purposes:—first, to inform the people that it is time to prepare for the clearing of new fields; second, to remind them that they should offer a slave to Mandarangan, Darago, and Balakat as payment for the good year they have enjoyed, and to secure their good will for the coming season. A great epidemic or continued calamaties might also be signs that the spirits were in need of another offering, and this could take place at any time. Upon the death of an adult it becomes the duty of the family to make a sacrifice, but, unless the deceased is of

[1] This is the constellation Orion which appears early in December.

Digitized by Google

very great importance, they may wait until the yearly sacrifice[1] when they can purchase a share in it. The one other occasion for which this offering is obligatory is the installation of a new *datu* in office. For the yearly event the ruler should provide a decrepit slave, and then invite all those who have had death or trouble in the family and who wish a part in the sacrifice to help bear the expense of the ceremony. Guests gather from near and far and for two or three days, feast, dance, and make merry in the house of the *datu*. On the morning of the last day they accompany their leader to a great tree in the forest and there witness or take part in the sacrifice. The victim is tied with his back to the tree, his arms stretched high above his head. Meanwhile a little table or altar is constructed near by, and on it the principals place their offerings of betel nut, clothes, or weapons, and on top of all is a dish of white food for Eugpamolak Manobo. When all is ready one of the *maganî* begins a prayer, begging the spirits to look and see that the people are following the old custom, to give them success in battle, and to protect their homes from sickness and enemies. The prayer being completed, the *datu* places his spear below and just in front of the right armpit; then all those who have purchased a share in the victim take hold of the weapon, and at a signal given by the *datu*, thrust it through the body. As soon as it is withdrawn, the *maganî* who has offered the greatest price for the privilege attempts to cut the body in two with one blow of his fighting knife. If he fails in the attempt, another tries, and so on until someone succeeds. The two portions are then released from the tree and cast into a shallow grave near by. Before the body is covered with earth any person who wishes may cut off a portion of the flesh or hair and carry it to the grave of some relative whom he may have reason to believe is being troubled by evil spirits. In such a case the evil spirit will be content to eat of the slave, and cease disturbing the other body. Returning to the house of the *datu*, the people continue the dancing and merry-making throughout another night.

The following accounts are extracts from the official correspondence forwarded by the Governor of Davao to the Governor of the Moro Province:

"I have the honor to submit herewith a full report of an investigation made by myself and the Senior Inspector of Constabulary of Davao, regarding a human sacrifice made by the Bagobos at Talun near Digos on Dec. 9th, 1907.

[1] We have already seen that this offering sometimes occurs during the *GînEm* ceremony.

Digitized by Google

"We left Davao on the morning of the 27th of December and arrived at Digos in the afternoon of the same day. An order was immediately sent out to the Bagobos of Talun to come down to Digos to meet us.

"On the morning of the 30th, the entire population of Talun—men, women and children, to the number of almost one hundred and fifty—arrived at Digos. They were informed that it was reported that a human sacrifice had been made at their town and that the authorities desired to know if this was so.

"Datto Ansig replied that it was true that a sacrifice had been held as stated and that both he and his people were ready to tell all about it as to the best of their belief they had committed no crime, but only followed out a religious custom practiced by themselves and their ancestors from time immemorial.

"From the statements made by Ansig and his followers, it appears as follows:

"That the Bagobos have several gods, 'Bacalad,' God of the spirits, Agpanmole Monobo, God of good and his wife the goddess Dewata; Mandarangan, the God of evil (corresponding perhaps to our devil) and to whom sacrifice is made to appease his wrath which is shown by misfortune, years of drought, or evil befalling the tribe or its members, also it is at times necessary to offer him human sacrifice so that he will allow the spirits of the deceased to rest, etc. They say that in case a Bagobo of rank or influence dies, and his widow be unable to secure another husband, it is necessary for her to offer sacrifice to appease the spirit of her departed husband in order that she may secure another. In order that these sacrifices be not made too often, it is customary for the old men of the town to gather together once each year during a time when a collection of seven stars, three at right angle to the other four, are seen in the heavens at seven o'clock in the evening, which is said to occur once each year during the first part of the month of December.

"This collection of stars is called by the Bagobos 'Balatic,' and is the sign of the sacrifice, that is, if a sacrifice is to occur, it must take place during the time that the stars are in this position.

"The old men meet and decide if enough misfortune has overtaken the tribe or village during the period since the last sacrifice to render necessary another tribute to the god of evil. It is not necessary to offer a sacrifice for each evil, but when the misfortunes amount to a considerable, a sacrifice is held to cover the entire lot.

"In this case it appears that two widows, Addy and Obby, went to Datto Ansig and requested that he arrange a sacrifice to appease the

Digitized by Google

spirits of their departed husbands which were bothering them. Ansig called a meeting of the old men at which were present besides himself Bagobos Oling, Pandaya, and Ansig, and these four decided that as they had not had a sacrifice since the great drought (about three years ago) and that since that time many evils had befallen them, it would be well to offer a sacrifice. These four men sent out to find a slave for sacrifice, the finder becoming the chief of the sacrifice.

"Ongon, a henchman of Datto Ansig, purchased from Bagobo Ido, a Bilan slave boy named Sacum about eight years old and who was deaf and cross-eyed, and had other defects of vision, making him of little or no value as a laborer. Ido originally received this slave from Duon, a Bilan, as a wedding present when he married Duon's daughter about a year ago.

"Ongon agreed to pay Ido five agongs for the boy and took him to the house of Ansig where arrangements were made for the sacrifice by calling on all who for any reason had need to appease the evil spirits to come and take part. Three days after the slave was brought to the house of Ansig, the people met at Talun near the river Inolia, a short distance from Ansig's house, this being the regular place of sacrifice.

"Leaving the house of Ansig the boy Sacum was seated upon the ground near the place of sacrifice. He was naked but no other preparation was made with regard to the person. Upon a platform or bench of bamboo about two feet high and a foot or two square was placed a small basket or receptacle made of the bark of the bunga tree; in this each person present and taking part in the sacrifice placed a piece of betel-nut, over this the men placed their head handkerchiefs and the women strips of the bark of the palma tree. Upon this the men laid their bolos, and spears were then stuck in the ground in a circle around the platform. Next Datto Ansig as chief of the sacrifice made an oration which was about as follows: 'Oh, Mandarangan, chief of evil spirits and all the other spirits, come to our feast and accept our sacrifice. Let this sacrifice appease your wrath and take from us our misfortunes, granting us better times.'

"After this, the boy Sacum was brought forward by Ongon, placed against a small tree about six feet high, his hands tied above his head, and his body tied to the tree with bejuco strips at the waist and knees. Ansig then placed a spear at the child's right side at a point below the right arm and above the margin of the ribs. This lance was grasped by the widows Addy and Obby, who at a signal from Ansig forced it through the child's body, it coming out at the other side. It was immediately withdrawn and the body cut in two at the waist by bolos

Digitized by Google

in the hands of Moesta Barraro and Ola, after which the body was cut down and chopped into bits by the people present, each of whom was allowed to take a small portion as a momento of the occasion, the remainder of the body being buried in a hole prepared for it.

"It is said the child was deaf and almost blind and that it did not realize what was to happen to it until the moment it was tied up when it began to cry; further, that death was almost instantaneous, the only cry being one uttered when the spear first entered the child's body.

"Datto Ansig, a man about sixty years of age, says that in his life he has attended or officiated at fifty human sacrifices, more or less, both among the Bagobos and the Bilanes, and that human sacrifice is also practiced among the Tagacolos, although he has never been present at one held by that tribe.

"The Bagobos do not sacrifice any but old and decrepit or useless slaves captured from other tribes, but the Bilanes sacrifice even their own people.

"Being asked if it was customary to eat any portion of the body sacrificed, Ansig replied that it was not customary nor did he know of any case where such had occurred.

"The last sacrifice before this was held at Talun during the year of the drought (about 1905) when a Bilan slave, an old man who was paralyzed in one arm, was sacrificed by Datto Oling, his master.

"Asked if the sacrifice of an animal would not do as well as that of a human being, they said, 'No, better to have no sacrifice at all.'

"They appeared utterly unconscious of having committed any crime, told their story with frankness, said it was a matter not talked about among their own people but that if we wanted to know the facts they would give them to the authorities. They claimed the offering of human sacrifices by their tribe to be an old custom and, as far as they knew the only way to appease the wrath of the evil spirits, but said if they were ordered to give the custom up they would do so even if the devil got them all."

Then follows the statement of an eye witness to the ceremony:

"My name is Modesta Barrera; I live in the town of Santa Cruz, my father being a Visayan, my mother a Bagobo. I cannot read or write, and I think that I am about twenty-three years old, although I am not certain on that point.

"On the 8th instant myself, Baon, Otoy, and Oton left Santa Cruz early in the morning to go to Talun, a day's march from Santa Cruz, for the purpose of trading with the natives of Talun, and also to collect some debts which they owed Baon. We remained that night at

Digitized by Google

Saculampula, near Talun, where Ungon and Ido, two Bagobos, live with their families. There we found two children the only persons at the house who informed us that we should go to the house of Ambing, at Talun, where we could sell our merchandise. On the morning of the 9th we got up about 7 or 8 o'clock and started for Ambing's house. When within about an hour's walk of the house, we found a great many people congregated together. We were told that a human sacrifice had just taken place and on approaching to discover what had happened, we saw a little boy about eight or nine years old, the upper half of whose body was suspended by the wrists to a tree, the lower half lying on the ground. The child had been thus tied up while alive and had been cut into two parts at the waist; this was about the position of the body when we saw it.

"Immediately about twenty persons began to chop the body into small pieces; and Ansig, the datto of Talun, came over to us and gave Baon two pieces of the victim's hair attached to the scalp, which is a sign of the sacrifice. The victim was a slave owned and sacrificed by Datto Ansig. The first bolo cut which severs the body at the waist and which in this case we were told was done by Ansig is always performed by the person making the sacrifice. The people present were guests of Ansig and were not responsible for the killing, though it is the custom for the more favored ones to assist in chopping the victim into small pieces after death."

In the letters written by Father GISBERT in 1886, are many references to the religious practices of the Bagobo, from which the following are extracts:

"The feast which they hold before the sowing is a criminal and repugnant trago-comedy. The tragical part is the first thing that is done. When they have assembled in the middle of the woods * * * they tightly bind the slave whom they are going to sacrifice. All armed with sharp knives, leap and jump about their victim striking him, one after the other, or several at one time, amid infernal cries and shouts, until the body of the victim sacrificed has been cut to bits. From the place of the sacrifice they then go to the house of their chief or the master of the feast, holding branches in their hands which they place in a large bamboo, which is not only the chief adornment but the altar of the house in which they meet * * * The principal part is reserved for the old man or master of the feast, he standing near the bamboo which I have mentioned above, holding the vessel of wine in his hand, and, talking with his comrades, addresses the great demon

Digitized by Google

called *Darago*, whose feast they are celebrating, in the following words: 'Darago, we are making you this feast, with great good will and gladness, offering you the blood of the sacrifice which we have made and this wine which we drink so that you may be our friend, accompany us, and be propitious in our wars.' * * * * * * * * * * * *

"When they marry, if the lovers think that it will be of any use they make a human sacrifice so that they may have a good marriage, so that the weather may be good, so that they may have no storm, sickness, etc., all things which they attribute to the devil. In the same way also when they learn that there is any contagious disease, or fear death, several of them assemble and make a human sacrifice, asking the devil to let them live, since they generously offer him that victim. They also believe that the disease can be conjured. But the time that it is necessary to make a sacrifice, according to the law of the Bagobos, is at the death of anyone of the family, before they can remove the *laláoan* or mourning * * * At the point and on the day assigned, all the sacrificers assemble, or possibly one member of each of the families who are in mourning, at times fifty or more. The value of the slave sacrificed is paid among them all, and he who pays most has the right to sacrifice first."**

By the side of the trail, or in the forests, little shrines or platforms about 3 ft. high and a foot square at the top, are frequently seen. These are known as *buis* and are erected for the *buso*, in order to avert their displeasure and to keep them at a distance from the dwellings. When the family has been subjected to petty annoyances, or when for any other reason, the *mabalĭan* thinks an offering should be made, she orders the family to provide her with betel nut, a piece of iron, and bits of broken dishes, or castoff clothing. These are placed on the platform and the *buso* are exhorted to come and accept them. Good offerings are never made to this class of spirits, for "they do not expect to be treated like the more powerful." A shrub known as *dalingding* is planted by the side of the shrine so that its location may be known even after the platform has fallen, and all passersby will make some small offering, hoping thus to keep these evil beings in good humor.

Rain can be stopped by placing an offering of a leg ring, or prepared betel nut beside the trail and presenting them to the *Gimokod*, at the same time asking them to stop the downpour.

**In BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. XLIII, pp. 244-51, will be found a very interesting letter from FATHER GISBERT, in which he describes the sacrifice of a Bagabo half-blood who had fallen in debt.

The official files in the Governor's office at Davao contain an account, written by Gov. Bolton, of the sacrifice at Cataloonan, July 1, 1904. This was held to secure the return to health of Chief Obo, who later died.

Digitized by Google

DECORATIVE ART.

To a stranger entering a Bagobo house, in the absence of its owners, it appears that the people have little artistic development. He sees no paintings, no drawings, and few, if any, attempts to beautify the house with carvings. The pots sitting by the fire show no decoration nor do the other household utensils exhibit embellishment of any kind. A closer study of the field baskets, however, shows a slight attempt to produce ornamentation by changing the weave of the central band from that at the top and bottom, or by adding a few rude lines in pitch. The moment the people enter, however, all is changed. The clothing they wear is covered with intricate patterns, some realistic, others highly conventionalized (Plate XXXI). Wonderful designs in beads or shell disks appear on coats, jackets, and carrying bags, while at neck, waist, shoulder, and at the bottom of sleeves and trousers are other figures in fine embroidery or appliqué. Strands of beads and seeds exhibiting a great variety of designs surround the necks of both men and women, while rings, armlets, leglets, and anklets of beads, plaited material or metal, are common. Combs are covered with pitch and inlaid with beads, or patterns are incised in the wood and filled with lime. Ear plugs exhibit beautiful delicate patterns inlaid with brass or silver.

A glance at the weapons carried by the man shows that his knife has been ornamented with caps of brass (Plate XXXII), the metal guard has cut or cast patterns in its surface, while sheath and carrying belt are covered with thin brass plates, painted lines, or a beaded cloth (Plate XXXIII) with bells attached. Fronts and backs of shields are covered with incised designs, while the metal ferrule next to the spear head seldom lacks in conventionalized figures. So the list might be extended to cover the women's knives and their pocket and carrying baskets, as well as the betel boxes and lime holders used by both sexes. In short, there seems to be no end to the list of personal ornaments and equipment which may be improved by carvings, arrangements of beads, or metal castings and inlays. Even the horses are decorated with artificial forelocks of hair and beads. Strings of bells surround their necks, while saddles and whips display the aesthetic taste of their owners.

A part of this decoration is apparently realistic and will readily be identified by any member of the tribe; another part is suggestive and with a widely known meaning, but by far the greater number of designs have no generally accepted signification. The writer spent many hours securing the names of the designs on textiles, ornaments, or on lime

Digitized by Google

boxes, only to receive the reply "done to make pretty," or to find that no two of five or a dozen informants could agree on many patterns, while frequently it was found that some obliging individual had volunteered names at one time which he could not remember on the day following. It is possible that a long residence with the people and diligent inquiry along this line might yield more definite results, but for the present the writer must content himself by showing some typical examples of the decorative art, and adding a few notes to the same.

The great majority of baskets lack in decoration, other than that which can be obtained by a slight change in the weave. In these a central band can be distinguished from those at top and bottom, although the same material is used and there is only a minor variation in the technique.

Small carrying receptacles, or trinket baskets, frequently have designs produced by plaiting the rattan or bamboo of natural color with that which has been blackened (Plate XXXIVa). No uniform meaning or pattern name seems to be attached to the designs shown in this specimen, but an incised design on the wooden rim was readily identified as a crocodile.

The small baskets in the coiled weave sometimes have the fronts entirely covered with beads which are woven into the basket in parallel lines. The tobacco box shown in Plate XXXV has been covered with cloth and pitch, in which an artistic design made from the yellow cuticle of an orchid has been inlaid. Plate XXXVb shows the wooden tops of three tobacco boxes. Nos 1 and 2 are carved and inlaid with beads and buttons in designs which "look pretty," but number 3 depicts a hunting scene in which two men and a dog are hunting the alligator. Several beads are missing so that it requires quite a stretch of the imagination to secure the impression the native artist meant to impart.

The prized trinket baskets of the women generally have the fronts covered with cloth, to which hundreds of colored beads are sewed, in elaborate designs (Plate XXXVI).

The patterns brought out in the weaving are as beautiful and intricate as they are confusing. Five typical specimens of cloth used in women's skirts are shown in Plate XXXVII. In them can be found several apparently different designs to some of which names were assigned, but as there was no agreement among my informers I refrain from giving them here. The pattern marked X in (c) was generally identified as "alligator," yet the weavers were by no means agreed.

Digitized by Google

The strip of cloth (Plate XXXVIII) was intended for the center breadth in a woman's skirt and shows the typical designs employed in the best garments.

The extensive use of beads is shown in Plates XXXIX-XL. Carrying bags, clothing, combs, necklaces, armlets, belts and sheath covers are partially covered with or made up of colored beads, always in designs, yet very few of these patterns have generally accepted meanings or names. The same holds true of the designs in shell disks, which, on the finer garments, take the place of beads. A few exceptions to this are found in which realistic patterns appear in (Plate XXXIb and Fig. 34).

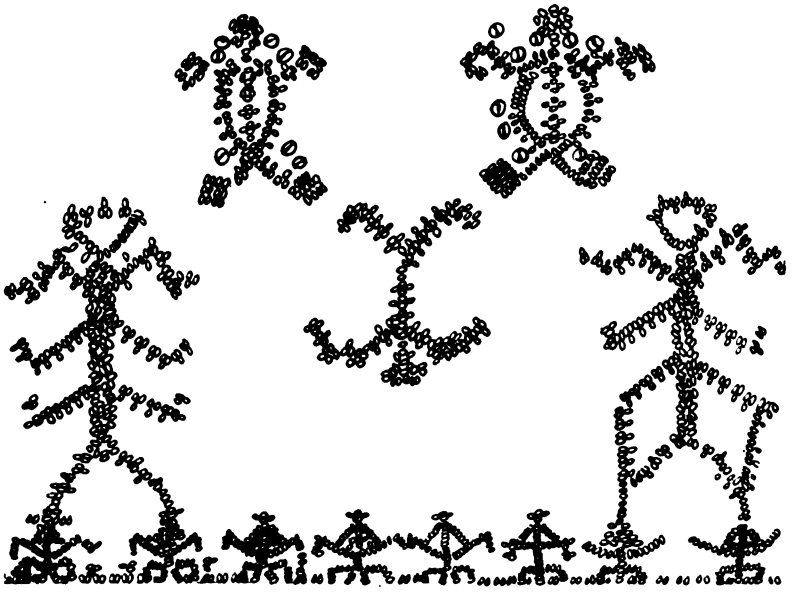


FIG. 34.
REALISTIC PATTERNS IN BEADS AND SHELL DISKS.

Like the bead work, the embroidery and appliqué found on many garments are added "to make pretty." Some of this work is quite fine, but in general that of recent years is either inferior to that found on old garments or is borrowed from, or made by, the Bila-an women. Some garments, with designs produced by oversewing before dyeing, are seen here, but they are recent importations from the Kulaman or Tagakaōlo tribes.

Digitized by Google

Necklaces and leglets are made of rattan and are decorated with burned lines or by being overlaid with platted strips of orchid and fern cuticle (Fig. 2).

A few rare specimens, such as personal ornaments or basket rims, have sewed in designs in which the sewing has been done with fern cuticle (Plate XXXIVb).

Incised patterns appear on nearly all the bamboo lime and tobacco holders, but here individual fancy plays such an important part that a hundred specimens might be examined without finding duplicate patterns. Fig. 14 shows nine of these tubes covered with cut-in designs, yet only one figure, that marked *X* in b could be identified. This was said to be the familiar crocodile.

Coming to the work in brass and copper we encounter an entirely new type of design. In some cases straight inlaid or overlaid strips and twisted wires are used to ornament the specimen; while in the raised and cut-in lines on the bells we find simple patterns. In the main, however, the ornamentation on this class of material consists of complicated scrolls (Plate XLI), designs suggesting flower or tree patterns, or conventionalized figures. One only needs to compare these objects with similar specimens from Borneo and the Malayan Islands of the South, to find the source of this type of ornamentation[1]. In fact the imitation of Moro wares is practiced today. In Plate XLIa and b are shown two betel nut boxes—No. 1 the work of the Samal Moro, No. 2 the imitation of the inlaid work on the top of the first specimen. This last was made in my presence, and with the expressed intention of duplicating the Moro box. However, in this case, as in all others, the Bagobo caster did not attempt to exactly reproduce the work of another, but simply borrowed a broad idea, and thus he often creates new forms.

Not once did the writer receive a name for any pattern or design shown in metal work. A careful study of the method of work, of the articles produced, and of the folk-lore and religious observances connected with the work in brass and copper brings one to the conclusion that this class of work is of comparatively recent introduction and that the instructors in the art were the Samal Moro.

Mention has already been made of the designs incised on combs and other objects which are afterwards filled with lime. Just here it is interesting to note that, so far as is known, the southern end of Mindanao and adjacent small islands, are the only parts of the Philippines in which this decoration, so typical of Melanesia, is to be found.

[1] See LING ROTH, Oriental Silver Work.

Digitized by Google

Realistic carvings were seen used in only two capacities. The first in certain ceremonies, where extremely crude wooden figures were offered to the spirits in exchange for the sick person (see p. 103), and the second, the wooden decoys used in hunting doves (See Plate XVIII).

Summing up our present information we can say: first, that the Bagobo makes use of certain realistic designs which in some cases have become conventionalized but still retain their former significance; second, that the greater part of decoration in beads, shell disks, embroidery or appliqué, as well as the incised designs in lime boxes and the like, have no meaning to the people of the present day, and are added only to make the objects more beautiful in the eyes of the owners. In this work there are no set patterns and each artist gives full reign to the fancy in producing these figures. Third, that the ideas for the patterns inlaid, incised, and cast in brass or copper, are furnished by the examples of this work coming from the Malays to the south, but that even in these the artist has taken great liberties in the execution of the design. Fourth, that one type of decoration, *i. e.*, the incised figures filled with lime, suggests the possible influence of Melanesia on the artistic ideas of this people.

MYTHOLOGY.

During my stay with this tribe I heard parts of many folk-tales, some chanted, others told with gravity, and still others which caused the greatest levity. My limited knowledge of the dialect and pressure of other work caused me to delay the recording of these tales until I should begin a systematic study of the language. Owing to unforeseen circumstances, that time never came, and it is now possible to give only the slightest idea of a very rich body of tales.[1]

In the main these stories are an attempt to account for the present order of things. In the tale which we quoted in part, at the beginning of the paper, we are told of an all-powerful being who created the earth and all that is. Other spirits and many animals inhabited the sky and earth which the creator had made. Of the latter only one, the monkey, is named. He and his kind, we are told, once inhabited and owned all the world, but were dispossessed by two human beings, Toglái and Toglíbon, from whom all the people of the world are descended. After their death a great drought caused the people to disperse and seek out new homes in other parts. They journeyed in pairs and because of the objects which they carried with them, they

[1] Since this was written MISS BENEDICT has published an excellent collection of Bagobo Myths (*Journal of American Folklore*, 1913, *XXVI*, pp. 13-63.

Digitized by Google

are now known by certain names. One couple, for instance, carried with them a small basket called *bira-an*, and for this reason their children are known as Bira-an (Bila-an). From the time of the dispersion until the arrival of the Spaniards we learn that certain mythical heroes performed wonderful feats, in some cases being closely identified with the spirits themselves, in others making use of magic, the knowledge of which seems to have been common in those times.

The two following tales are typical of those commonly heard in a Bagobo gathering. The first was told by Urbano Eli, a Bagobo of Malilla.

"After the people were created a man named LumábEt was born. He could talk when he was one day old and the people said he was sent by Manama. He lived ninety seasons and when still a young man he had a hunting dog which he took to hunt on the mountain. The dog started up a white deer and LumábEt and his companions followed until they had gone about the world nine times when they finally caught it. At the time they caught the deer LumábEt's hair was grey and he was an old man. All the time he was gone he had only one banana and one camote with him for food. When night came he planted the skin of the banana and in the morning he had ripe bananas to eat, and the camotes came the same way. When he had caught the deer LumábEt called the people to see him and he told them to kill his father. They obeyed him and then LumábEt took off his headband and waved it in the air over the dead man, and he at once was alive again. He did this eight times and at the eighth time his father was small like a little boy, for every time the people cut him in two the knife took off a little flesh. So all the people thought LumábEt was like a god.

"One year after he killed the deer he told all the people to come into his house, but they said they could not, for the house was small and the people many. But LumábEt said there was plenty of room, so all entered his house and were not crowded. The next morning the *diwata*, *tigyama*, and other spirits came and talked with him. After that he told the people that all who believed that he was powerful could go with him, but all who did not go would be turned into animals and *buso*. Then LumábEt started away and those who stayed back became animals and *buso*.

"He went to the place Binaton, across the ocean, the place where the earth and sky meet. When he got there he saw that the sky kept going up and down the same as a man opening and closing his jaws. LumábEt said to the sky 'You must go up,' but the sky replied 'No.'

Digitized by Google

At last LumábEt promised the sky that if he let the others go he might catch the last one who tried to pass; so the sky opened and the people went through; but when near to the last the sky shut down and caught the bolo of next to the last man. The last one he caught and ate.

"That day LumábEt's son Tagalion was hunting and caught many animals which he hung up. Then he said he must go to his father's place; so he leaned an arrow against a *balïti* tree and sat on it. It began to grow down and carried him down to his father's place, but when he arrived there were no people there. He saw a gun, made out of gold, and some white bees in the house. The bees said 'You must not cry; we can take you to the sky.' So he rode on the gun, and the bees took him to the sky and he arrived there in three days.

"One of the men was looking down on the land below, and all of the spirits made fun of him and said they would take out his intestines so that he would be like one of them and never die. The man refused to let them, and he wanted to go back home because he was afraid; so Manama said to let him go.

"The spirits took leaves of the *karau* grass and tied to his legs, and made a chain of the grass and let him down to the earth. When he reached the earth he was no longer a man but was an owl."

(2) The second tale, which was recorded by P. Juan Doyle, S. J., is as follows:

"In one of the torrents which has its origin at the foot of Apo, there were two eels which, having acquired extraordinary magnitude, had no room in so little water, on account of which they determined to separate, each one taking a different direction in search of the sea or the great lakes. One arrived, happily, at the sea by the Padada river, and from it came eels in the sea. The other descending a torrent, swimming and confining himself as well as he might, enclosed in these narrow places, said to himself 'I haven't the slightest idea of what the sea is, but it appears to me that when I see before me an extraordinary clearness on a limpid surface, that must be the sea, and with one spring I will jump into it.' So saying, he arrived at a point where the torrent formed a cascade. He noticed that it cut off the horizon and to his view it appeared of an extraordinary clearness; he thought he could swim there without limit, and at his pleasure, and that this, in fine, must be the sea. He darted into it, but the unhappy one was dashed against the rocks, and too fatigued to swim through the rough waters, he lost his life. His body lay there inert and formed undulations which are now the folds which the earth forms to the left of Mt. Apo."

Digitized by Google

OTHER BRANCHES OF THE TRIBE.

To the south and southwest of Mt. Apo, and west of Digos, are seven settlements, the inhabitants of which are known as Obo or Tigdapaya. On the south they meet the Bila-an, and, like this latter people, extend over the watershed into the valley of the Cotabato river. On the northwest they come in contact with the Atá. They have intermarried with both of these tribes, have adopted many of their customs, and in some cases their manner of dress. However, they consider themselves, and are considered by the Bagobo, as a part of that tribe, and recognize Tongkaling as their chief. Bagobo customs and blood predominate, although intermarriage with the Negrito was evident in nearly every individual of this division seen by the writer.

Immediately west of Daliao are three villages whose people are known as Eto or Atá. Aside from a slightly greater percentage of individuals showing negroid features, these people do not differ in any respect from the Bagobo. It does not seem that they should be classed with the people later referred to as Atá. To the north, their lands join the territory held by the Guianga.

The habitat of the division called Guianga begins a few miles back of the Gulf and extends west to the watershed. An east and west line drawn through the village of Taloma marks their southern boundary, while to the north they approach the Lasan river. They are found in a number of scattered settlements which owe allegiance and are subject to five petty *datu*. Tongkaling is not recognized as having any authority in the district, and there seems to be no remembrance of a time when any of the Bagobo rulers held authority over the Guianga. Physically and culturally they do not seem to be far removed from the Bagobo, while their language is so closely related that individuals of the two divisions, meeting for the first time can carry on a conversation. There is, however, considerable variation between the dialects, both in intonation and vocabulary.

Further study may result in raising this branch to the dignity of a tribe, but the information at hand does not justify us in considering them other than a dialect group of the Bagobo.

Digitized by Google

II. BILA-AN.

SYNONYMS.

(a) TAGALÁGAD—"dwellers in the back country" is the name generally applied to this tribe by the coast natives.

(b) TAGKOGON—"dwellers in the cogon"—The group living on the grass plains west of Malalag.

(c) BULÚAN, BULUÁNES—The members of this tribe dwelling near to Lake Buluan. This group is sometimes identified with the Tagabîlî or Tagabulú who also reside in that region.

(d) BIRA-AN, BARA-AN—Synonym for BILA-AN, often used by the neighboring Bagobo.

(e) VILANES, BILANES.

(f) BALUD or TUMÁNAO—name sometimes applied by early writers to the Bila-an who live on the Sarangani Islands.

This tribe is found in the mountains on the west side of Davao Gulf beginning at an east and west line drawn through Bulatakay and extending south to Sarangani Point, and they also appear in small numbers in the Sarangani Islands which lie just south of the mainland. At Bulatakay they are a day's march back from the coast and to reach them it is necessary to pass for several hours through a rolling belt of forest land, then as the mountains are approached, gently sloping cogon plains about ten miles in width are crossed. West of Malalag they are still far from the sea with a belt of hill Tagakaŏlo between them and the coast people. In this region they have spread out in considerable numbers on to the grass plains, and for this reason are locally known as Tagkogon "dwellers in the cogon." On the gulf side of the divide, south of Malalag, they are found in small groups far back in the mountains, while between them and the sea are Tagakaŏlo, Kulaman and Moro. Along the watershed between the districts of Davao and Cotabato they possess all the territory and even extend in some numbers into the lowlands toward Lake Buluan. They are distinctly a mountain people, having never reached the sea, except near Sarangani Point, until after the advent of the American. Since then a few hundred have been induced to move to the coast plantations, and the town of Labau has been established on the Padada river about six miles back of the coast. According to Mr. H. S. Wilson, tribal ward headman for the Bila-an, this tribe numbers about ten thousand persons, of which number fifteen hundred reside on the Sarangani Islands.

Digitized by Google

The material here presented was gathered from the people of Labau, the Malalag cogon, and those living near the headwaters of the Ma-al and Padada rivers.

Formerly a neutral, uninhabited belt extended between them and the coast people, and at stated intervals they went to recognized trading points in this territory to exchange their agricultural and forest products for salt, fish, and other articles of barter. Beyond this trading and an occasional fight, they had few dealings with the coast people and seem never to have encountered the Spaniard.

They are almost unknown to history, for aside from two or three short accounts,[1] based mostly on hearsay, we find no mention of them. The coast natives who knew them by name only had many stories concerning their life and prowess, and one still hears that "the Bila-an are of small stature but agile like monkeys. One may wander for days through their territory without encountering a person and then when in a bad place suddenly see the little people in hundreds swarming down the sides of impassable cliffs. They are always in such numbers that, while they use only the bow and arrow, they are almost sure to exterminate the intruders." As a matter of fact, the Bila-an compare in stature with the coast natives and differ little from them in color, although a few individuals of decidedly lighter cast are met with.

Observations were made on thirty-eight men, but no women could be induced to submit to being measured. The maximum height of the men was found to be 163.6 cm.; minimum 142.3 cm.; with an average of 154.7 cm. The cephalic indices showed 87.8 cm. as the maximum; 74 cm. the minimum; and 80.4 cm. the average. The greatest length-height index was 78.6 cm.; the minimum 62.4 cm. and the average 69.7 cm. From these measurements it appears that the Bila-an are somewhat shorter than the Bagobo; are more short headed, the majority being brachycephalic; while the height from tragus to vertex is about the same in both groups, and both have the crown and back of the head strongly arched. The face[2] is absolutely shorter and relatively broader than in the Bagobo. The forehead is usually high and full, but in about one-third of the individuals measured it was moderately retreating, while in the same proportion the supra-orbital ridges were quite strongly marked. In other features, as well as in hair form, eyes, body form and color, this people conform to the description given of the Bagobo (Plates XLII-XLVIII).

[1] BLAIR and ROBERTSON The Philippine Islands, Vol. XLIII, pp. 239, 282-283. Census of the Philippine Islands, 1905.

[2] Measured from the chin to the hair of the forehead.

Digitized by Google

The greater part of this tribe live far back in the rugged mountains which form the watershed between the Cotabato valley and the Gulf of Davao. Travel through that district is entirely on foot, and is principally along the water courses, so that in going from place to place a person is continually crossing the stream. From time to time dim trails, scarcely worthy of that name, lead from the river's bank almost perpendicularly up the mountain-side or to the summits of high hills, where will be found one or two frail houses (Plate XLIX). The dwellings are never in large groups, and more frequently each house is by itself. From one habitation it is possible to look across the hills and see many others at no great distance, to reach which would necessitate a descent of several hundred feet and an equal climb up to each.

There is considerable variation in the architecture of the dwellings but the following description of the home of Datu Dialum, on the headwaters of the Ma-al river, will give the general plan of all.

Small hardwood poles about twenty feet in length formed the uprights to which the side and crossbeams were lashed, while in the center of each end beam smaller sticks were tied to form the king posts. From the ridge pole small timbers extended to the side beams, thus forming the framework on which the final topping of flattened bamboo was laid. This roof was of one pitch and at the sides overhung the walls by about a foot. Twelve feet above the ground other poles were lashed to the uprights and on these rested the cross timbers of the floor, which in turn were covered with broad strips of bark. The side walls extended between the floor and the beams, but in no place did they extend up to the roof. Entrance to the dwelling was gained by a notched log.

FIG. 35.
COOKING POT AND COVER.

Once inside the house the arrangement impressed one as being similar to those of the Bagobo. Just above the door, and again in the far end of the room, poles were laid across the beams to form the floors of lofts which, in this case, were used as sleeping rooms.

In front of the door, at the opposite side of the room, was a bed of ashes in which three stones were sunk to form the stove, and above this was suspended a rack which contained cooking pots, drying wood, ears of corn, and the like. Close to the stove were a few earthen pots (Fig. 35) and many short bamboo tubes filled with water, while against

Digitized by Google

the wall hung rattan frames filled with half cocoanut-shell dishes, spoons, and two or three old Chinese plates. Near the center of the room stood a rice mortar made by hollowing out a section of log. At the far end of the room was a raised sleeping platform, such as is found in all Bagobo houses, and extending from this to the center and on each side of the room were narrow stalls where the women were engaged in weaving, and in which they slept and kept their most valued possessions.

In the description of the house we have mentioned most of the furnishings. In addition it is customary to find a few well made mats of *pandanus* or *buri* palm leaf. These are spread on the floor when the owners wish to retire and for the rest of the time are rolled up and laid along the walls. Carved forked sticks which serve as torch-holders stand in various parts of the room, while somewhere near the stove is a miscellany of wooden meat blocks, bamboo fans and fly swatters, gourds filled with millet, salt, or mashed peppers, and shovel-shaped or round rice winnowers, which also serve as common eating dishes for the family and guests. Well made baskets stand by the walls or hang from pegs along with articles of clothing, while spears, shields, and other weapons are fastened to side walls or roof.

Small clearings are found at no great distance from these dwellings and in them the people raise rice, corn, millet, camotes, sugar-cane, and a few banana and hemp plants (Plate L). As is the case with all the wild tribes in this district, the Bila-an make new clearings as soon as the cogon grass begins to invade their fields, and this in time causes them to move their homes from one locality to another.

The domestic animals consist of a few chickens, dogs, an occasional cat and pig, and in the lower cogon lands, a few families possess horses. Some fish are secured from the river, while deer, wild pig, jungle fowl, and other game are taken with traps or secured by hunting.

There seems never to have been a time when this tribe was organized under a single leader as was the case with the Bagobo. Each district is so isolated from the others and the population so scattering that any such development has been barred, and hence the people of each river valley or highland plain have their local ruler. The power of this ruler is real only so far as his personal influence can make it so. He receives no pay for his services, but his position makes it possible for him to secure the help of his fellows when he is in need of workers or warriors. In return he conducts negotiations with other groups and administers justice in accordance with the customs handed down from bygone ages. Upon his death he is succeeded by his eldest son, unless

Digitized by Google

the old men of the group should consider him incompetent, in which case they will determine upon the successor.

Warriors who have killed one or more persons[1] are known as *lEbE* (Plate XLII), and are permitted to wear plain red suits decorated with embroidery. Their duties and privileges are much the same as those of the Bagobo *magaṅi*.

A class known as *almō-ōs* is composed mostly of middle-aged women who are in close communication with the spirits and who, like the *mabalṫan* of the Bagobo, conduct ceremonies to aid in the cure of the sick, to secure good crops, or to thank the higher beings for their help and watchfulness. Unlike the *mabalṫan*, these women are seldom midwives, such duties being performed by a group called *fandṫta*.[2]

Finally, we learn that slaves are sometimes taken from neighboring tribes or even from unfriendly settlements of their own people, to which class may be added offenders against the laws of the group. Slavery, however, is not very prevalent, for men are not greatly desired unless needed for a sacrifice, while young girls and women soon become regular members of their master's family.

As has just been indicated a man may have as many wives as he can secure by purchase or capture, provided they are not blood relations, but a new wife cannot be added to the family until the one preceding has borne a child.

Difficulties are generally settled between the parties concerned, but if they carry their case to the ruler they must abide by his decision. A thief is usually compelled to return the stolen property, but in at least one case the culprit was sacrificed.[3]

Murder can be avenged by a murder so long as the trouble remains a family affair, but if the case goes to the ruler it is probable that he will levy a fine on the culprit. Unfaithfulness in a wife can be punished by the death of one or both offenders if the husband exacts the punishment, otherwise a fine is imposed.

The type of clothing worn by this tribe is practically identical with that of the Bagobo, while the cloth from which it is made is procured by a like process. However, in the ornamentation of these garments there is wide variation. Beads are not used to any great extent, but in their place are intricate embroidered designs which excel, both in beauty and technique the work of any other wild tribe in the Islands, while on the more elaborate costumes hundreds of shell disks are used in artistic designs. The woman's skirt is of hemp and is made in exactly the same

[1] Said to be four among the Tagkogon.
[2] Probably a corruption of the Moro term *pandṫta*.
[3] See p. 145.

Digitized by Google

manner as those of the Bagobo, but the general pattern is different, and it seldom contains the broad decorative center panel (Plate LX).

Some of the men cut their hair so that it falls in bangs along the center line of the forehead and behind reaches to the nape of the neck, but the majority of them, and all the women, allow the back hair to grow long and tie it in a knot at the back of the head. Ordinarily the men dispense with head covering, or at most twist a bit of cloth into a turban, but for special occasions they wear palm leaf hats covered with many parallel bands of rattan and crowned with notched chicken feathers (Plate LI). Rarely is a woman seen with any kind of head

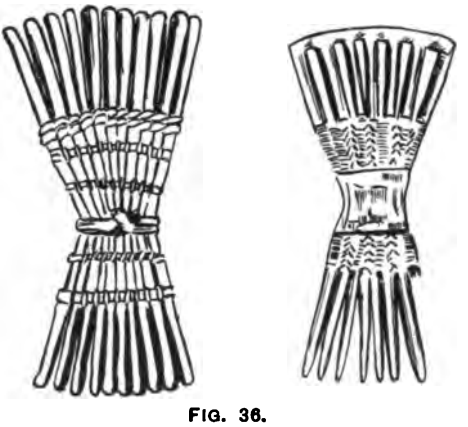


FIG. 36.
WOMEN'S COMBS.

protection or hair ornament other than a small comb which is peculiar to this tribe (Fig. 36). This comb is made of bamboo or rattan splints drawn together at the center but flaring at top and bottom until it forms an ornament in the shape of an hour glass. The ear plugs worn by the men are of wood and are undecorated, but those of the women have the fronts overlaid with incised brass plates (Fig. 37). In other respects the dress of the women differs little from that of the Bagobo. They have the same necklaces, arm and finger rings, leglets, and anklets. although in less quantity. They also carry trinket baskets, but these are larger than those used by the women of the other tribe and are lacking in bead and bell pendants. However, they are tastily decorated with designs in colored bamboo or fern cuticle. We have already noted that the use of plain red garments is limited to warriors, but cloth of that hue which contains narrow black stripes may be used by all. Quite a number of garments are seen in which white patterns appear in a red

Digitized by Google

background (Plate LVIIIc). In this tribe the use of such suits is not restricted, but with the neighboring Kulaman they can be worn by warriors[1] only.

Before we proceed further with the description of the life of the people, it will be well for us to inquire into their religious beliefs, for, as is the case with all their neighbors, their faith in unseen beings influences their daily life to a very great extent. The two following tales deal with the Bila-an genesis.

"In the beginning was MElú—a being of such great size as to be

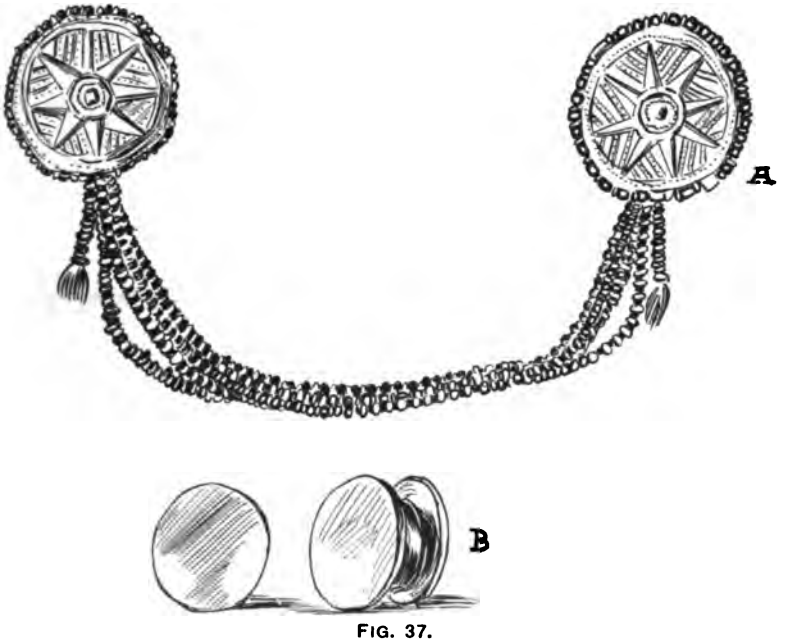


FIG. 37.
A. WOMEN'S EAR PLUGS.
B. MEN'S EAR PLUGS.

beyond comparison with any known thing; who was white, having gold teeth, and who sat upon the clouds, and occupied all space above.

"He was very cleanly and was constantly rubbing himself with his hands in order that he might keep his skin quite white. The scurf or dead skin which he thus removed, he placed to one side where it accumulated at last to such a heap that it annoyed him. To be rid of this annoyance he made the earth, and being pleased with his work, he decided to make two beings like himself only much smaller in size. This he did from remnants of the material from which he made the earth.

[1] See p. 155 for a description of this process.

Digitized by Google

"Now, while MElú was making the first two men, and when he had the first one finished, all excepting the nose; and the second one finished all excepting the nose and one other part, Tau Tana (Funtana) or Tau Dalom Tana appeared and demanded of MElú that he be allowed to make the nose. Then began a great argument in which Tau Dalom Tana gained his point and did make the noses and placed them on the faces of the first two people upside down. So great had been the argument over this making and placing of noses that MElú forgot to finish that part of the second person and went away to his place above the clouds, and Tau Dalom Tana went away to his place below the earth. Then came a great rain and the two people on the earth were about to perish on account of the water which ran off their heads into their noses. MElú seeing what was happening came to them and changed their noses, and then told them that they should save all the hair which came from their heads, and all the scurf which came from their bodies to the end that when he came again he might make more people. As time passed there came to be a great many people, and they lived in a village having plenty to eat and no labor but the gathering of such fruits as they desired.

"One day when the rest of the people were about the village and the near country, a man and woman who had been left behind fell to gazing, one upon the person of the other, and after a little while they went away apart from the rest and were gone many days, and when they returned the woman carried a child in her arms, and the people wondered and were afraid. When MElú came again soon, knowing what had taken place, he was very angry and he went away abandoning them, and a great drought came, when for two seasons no rain fell and everything withered up and died. At last the people went away, two by two, one man and one woman together, and MElú never again came to visit his people on earth."[1]

The writer did not hear the foregoing tale, but the following, with more or less variation, was told to him by several Bila-an:

"In the beginning four beings, MElú and Fiuweígh-males, and Dwata and Saweígh (or sEwE or sEweigh)-females, lived on a small earth or island as large as a hat and called *salnaoñ*. There were no trees or grass on this island, but they had one bird called Baswit. They sent this bird across the waters to secure some earth, the fruit of the rattan and of trees. When it returned MElú took the earth and beat it the same as a woman beats pots until he had made the land, then he planted the seeds in it and they grew. When he had watched it for a time

[1] Recorded by Mr. H. S. Wilson.

Digitized by Google

MElú said: 'Of what use is land without people'; so the others said. 'Let us make wax into people.' They did so, but when they put the wax near to the fire it melted, so they saw they could not make man that way. Next it was decided that they should use dirt, and MElú and Fîuweígh began to make man. All went well until they were ready to make the nose. Fîuweígh who was making this part put the nose on upside down and when MElú told him that the people would drown if he left it that way he became very angry and refused to change it. When he turned his back, MElú seized the nose quickly and turned it as it now is, and you can see where, in his haste, he pressed his fingers (at the root).

"The people they made were Adnato and Andawî, male and female. These two had children, Tapî (or Mastafî) and Lakarol. (Informants disagreed here, part insisting that MEsa, Lakbang, and Mangarang were part of the first people made.) Their descendants were Sinudal ♀, Moáy ♂,[1] Limbay ♀, Madinda ♀, Sinnamoway ♂, Kamansa ♂, Gilay ♀, Gomayau ♂, Salau ♂, Slayen ♀, BaEn ♀, Kanfal ♀, Latara ♂."

The last was the father of Alimama, the chief informant of this tale. Înok, dato of Labau, is also of this line, tracing his descent from Lakbang.

It is said that MElú and Saweígh now live below, Dwata and Fîuweígh in the sky.

A variation of this story credits MElú and Dwata with being the creators of Fîuweígh and SEweigh. They were the ancestors of men, for they took earth and made it into the form of people and then whipped it until it moved. The first people they made were Otis ♂ and Lakbang ♀. Two of their children were Mastafî ♂ and Lakarol (or Landol) ♀. From these two came all the Bila-an. "These two lived in a small distant place and their one animal was Baswit—a bird. They sent him on a long journey and when he returned he brought a piece of earth and the fruit of a *pandag* tree. Lakarol planted the fruit in the piece of earth and when it grew the leaves fell down and finally made the earth."

From these tales and later questioning we learn the MElú, or MElE, is the most powerful of all the natural spirits and that his help is sought in times of calamity and at very important occasions.

Duwata (Duatá, Dwata, Adwata, Dîwata) is generally considered to be the wife of MElú and of equal strength with him. She is sometimes identified with a female spirit called Kalalokan.

[1] ♂ male, ♀ female.

Digitized by Google

Fiuweígh and SEweigh are now powerful spirits, but there is some dispute as to whether they have always been so, or once were human.

Lamot ta Mangayó, also called Mandalangan, is the patron spirit of the warriors and is in all respects almost identical with Mandarangan of the Bagobo.

The *busau* are a class of spirits, often ill-disposed toward men, who live in various parts of the mountains. Bakay, one of the *busau*, is said to be the owner of the deer and pig and is held in considerable esteem by the people of the Padada region, but he is not recognized by the Tagkogon branch of the tribe. Another spirit, Bawí, who owns the rice, is in great favor with the Padada people, but is unknown to the latter group. Flau is the spirit of an unborn child whose mother died in pregnancy. Its cry is often heard at night, and at times it attacks and injures people.

These natural spirits are very powerful, and since they sometimes interest themselves in the doings of mortals it behooves all to keep their good will. Below them is another class of spirits, less powerful, but far more concerned in the affairs of men, and for this reason more to be feared should they become displeased. This class is made up of the spirits of the dead. A man's spirit, *almogol*, does not live in his body, but always accompanies him during life. If at any time it wanders the man becomes ill, and if it fails to return its owner dies. After separating from the body the *almogol* goes to Kilot, a good place below the earth where there is no work or punishment. There it spends most of its time, but upon occasion returns to its former haunts where it aids or injures the living.

The *almō-ōs*, already mentioned,[1] have considerable influence with all the spirits, but they are particularly close to the *almogol*. When a person is ill he is placed in a little house known as *lawig* (Plate LII), beside which a fire is kindled. Nearby are two decorated bamboo sticks, behind which the spirit of the sick man stands while he watches the proceeding. The *almō-ōs* takes a chicken in his hands and, while five or six assistants dance, he chants, appealing to the spirit to see the good things that are being prepared, and to be pleased to return to the sick man. Occasionally, the music stops and one of the dancers cries "*almogol*, here is food for you; you must not go away." After a time the fowl is killed, is cooked over the fire, and is fed to the invalid, while the "doctor" continues his song of entreaty. If the call pleases the spirit it will pass between the bamboo sticks and go to the sick person in the *lawig*, but if it is not convinced that it should remain it

[1] See page 133.

Digitized by Google

departs, and the patient dies. The sick person is kept in the spirit house for a day and is then returned to his home.

Little structures known as *boloñ* are erected for other spirits who may be trying to injure the *almogol* or attempting to persuade it to leave its owner.

Certain ceremonies and offerings occur after a death, at the birth of a child, at planting and harvest times, and when the warriors are about to start on a raid; all of which will be spoken of in a later paragraph. When approaching a place known to be owned by certain spirits, it is thought wise to make a small offering. On the trail to Ma-al is a large rock which marks the divide between the mountains and the open cogon lands. As the writer's party approached this stone one of the men removed some of his leg bands and placed them beside the rock, at the same time praying the *busau* to "take the present and do not let any of our party fall sick or be injured on the journey." It is also customary for a man who wishes to buy anything or to make a trade, first to make an offering of betel-nut to the spirit of some rich man, and to ask his help in the venture.

Some new clearings are cut in the jungle each year, after the constellation *Balatik* has risen out of the sea. The spirits place this sign in the heavens to notify all that the land should be cleared, but it does not call for a sacrifice as in the case of the people we have previously described. At that time the men cut the trees and underbrush, and after allowing them to dry, fire them. They also make the holes into which the women drop seed rice.

When the land is ready for planting, a little house called *botabwE* is built in the center of the field, and beside it is placed a platform or table, *sina-al*, on which is an offering of food. Early in the morning, while the others sleep, the owner and his wife carry the seed rice to the field and place it on the *botabwE*. After a time they eat some of the food which has previously been offered and then begin to plant, beginning close to the spirit house. Soon they are joined by other workers who aid them in the planting. These assistants do not receive payment for their services other than food while working and like help when in need. At this time a bamboo pole, with one end split and spread open like a cup,[1] is placed in front of the elevated platform of the family dwelling and the guardian spirit of the fields is promised that after the harvest he will receive the new seed rice. While the rice is growing the men attend to the fences and the women keep down weeds or

[1] This pole which is here known as *sabak* is the same as the *tambara* of the Bagobo. See p. 66 and fig. 12.

Digitized by Google

frighten birds and other intruders away. When the crops have matured all the people of a neighborhood will meet at the home of the chief, and there celebrate a ceremony known as *Pandoman*. Two bundles of rice are laid on a mat in the center of the room, and beside them a spear is thrust into the floor. These are offerings to the great spirits MElú and Dwata who are besought to give health to the workers while they are gathering crops. As soon as this offering is made, the men begin to build the rice granaries; meanwhile the women silently guard the mat and gifts, for until the new storehouses are completed there must be no dancing or merry-making. When all is ready for the harvest, the wife of the owner goes alone to the field, and having cut a few heads of grain, she carries them back to the house. One portion is placed in the *sabak* another on a little platform, *gramso*, near to the house, as an offering to MElú and Dwata; and the balance is cooked and eaten by the family. The following morning all the women go to the fields to gather the harvest. When the last bundle has been carried to the house a celebration begins, *agongs* and *EdEl*[1] furnish the music for the dancers, and for a day and a night all feast and make merry; then the workers return to their homes carrying small gifts of cooked food or new rice.

Aside from clearing the land and helping somewhat with the rice crops, the men seldom concern themselves with work in the fields but leave the cultivation of corn, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and the like to the women.

A large part of the food of the tribe is furnished by the fruits and herbs of the jungle and here again the women are the chief providers. Although in the sago industry both sexes have well defined duties.

Along the edge of the cogon lands are many large *buri* palms,[2] from which a starch commercially known as sago is secured. The men cut down a tree close to its roots and remove the hard outer bark, thus exposing the soft fibrous interior (Plate LIII); then a section of bamboo is bent so as to resemble an adze, and with this the men loosen or break up the soft interior portion of the trunk. This is removed to a near-by stream, and is placed in a bark vat into which water is led by means of bamboo tubes. Here a woman works it with her hands until the starch grains are separated from the fibrous matter. As the water drains slowly out the fine starch is carried with it into a coarse cloth sieve, which retains all the larger matter but allows the starch to be carried into another bark vat below. Fresh water passes slowly through

[1] See p. 110 note.
[2] *Corypha umbraculifera*.

Digitized by Google

this lower vat, removing the bitter sap from the flour, which is deposited on the bottom of the vat. From time to time this is scraped up and placed in baskets where it is kept until needed. The flour, while rather tasteless, is nutritious and in years of drought is the chief source of food supply.

Preparation of the meals, care of the children, basket and mat making, weaving and decoration of clothing, take up most of the time of the women when they are not engaged in the cultivation of the fields or in search of forest products.

The hardest work in the fields falls to the men; they also strip the hemp needed in weaving, while a few of them are skilled workers in brass and copper and turn out bells and other ornaments not at all inferior to those of the coast natives. Their methods of casting as well as their manufactures are identical with those of the Bagobo from whom they probably learned the art. So far as could be learned no iron work is done by members of this tribe, and the few spears and knives possessed by the warriors seem to be trade articles.

The old men claim that until recent years the bow and arrow was their sole offensive weapon. It is certain that today they have a greater variety of arrows and are more skillful in the use of this type of weapon than are any of their neighbors. None of the weapons found on the gulf side of the divide appeared to be poisoned, but a number secured by Major Porter from the Lake Buluan region seem to have been so treated (Fig. 38). Different types of arrows have been developed for different purposes; one for fighting, another for deer and

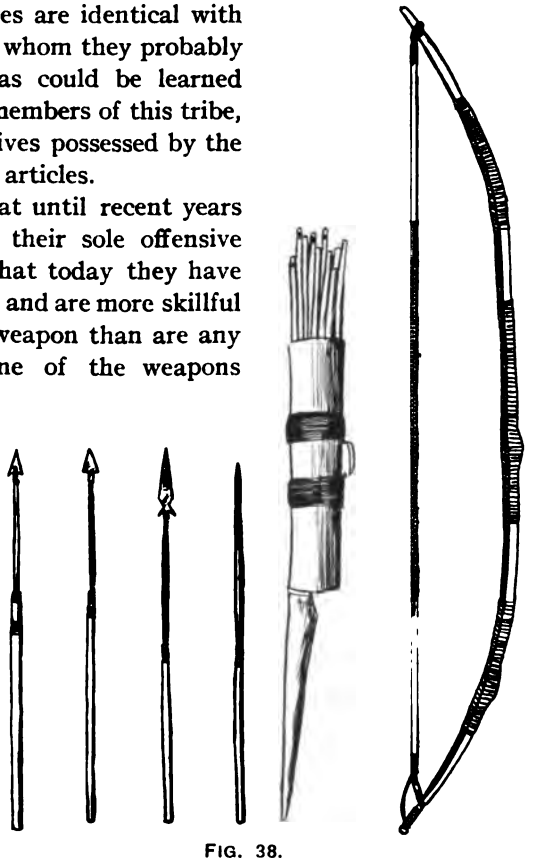


FIG. 38.
BOWS, ARROWS AND QUIVER FROM LAKE BULUAN REGION.

Digitized by Google

pig, another for monkeys, and still others for fish and birds (Fig. 39). Birds are killed also by means of reed blow guns, identical in type with those shown on page 73, Fig. 18. As a rule such weapons are used

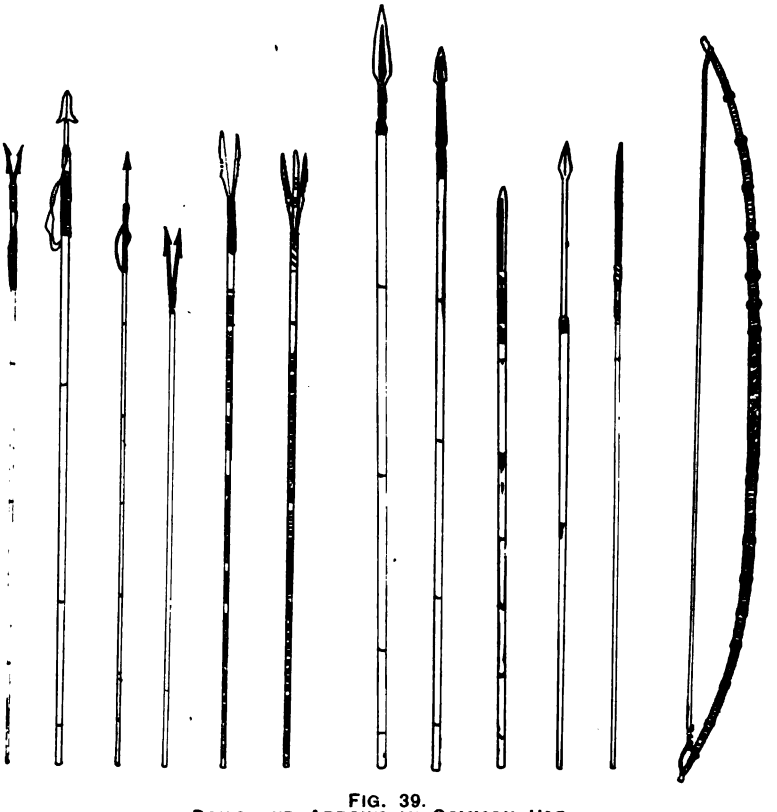


FIG. 39.
BOWS AND ARROWS IN COMMON USE.

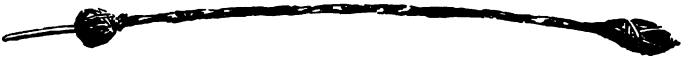


FIG. 40.
PITCH STICK USED IN THE CAPTURE OF SMALL BIRDS.

by boys. Pitch sticks (Fig. 40), chicken snares, and fish traps are in common use, but bird nets and wooden decoys seem to be unknown.

When on a raid warriors carry beautifully carved shields, bows and arrows, spears, and fighting knives (Plates LIV-LV). They are in bad repute with the coast natives, but are really far less warlike and

Digitized by Google

troublesome than any of their neighbors. Their isolated dwellings serve as protection against invaders, but at the same time make it difficult to gather large bodies of men for raiding purposes. It is only when urged on by an invasion of their country, by a desire for revenge for real or fancied wrongs, or when a victim is needed for a sacrifice that great raids are planned. Before a war party is to start against an enemy the leader takes eight pieces of betel nut and some leg bands and placing them on his shield, bids his followers lay their weapons upon them. Addressing the guardian spirit of the warriors, he speaks as follows: "Now listen Lamot ta Mangayó, let the person who killed my brother come to meet us even though his head does ache, for now we offer to you. Give us good fortune in the fight." Upon returning from the fray they place eight whole betel nuts, together with leaves, on a plate, and having set it outside the house, one of the warriors calls to MElú saying: "If the brother of the man we have killed in payment for my brother calls on you for aid, you must not give heed, for here we make a present to you."

There are no restrictions placed upon a pregnant woman, who, as a rule, continues her regular duties until near the time of delivery[1]. When the first pains begin an old man or woman offers four pieces of betel nut to MElú, and to the spirit of the child's grandfather, if deceased. The midwife prepares a drink which is supposed to aid in the delivery, and after the birth she cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo knife. She also assists about the house for a time, and for these services receives two or three Chinese plates, some small knives, rings for the right arm, and some needles. The father is not under any restrictions at this time, but for a day of two he will gather young *patina* palms and from them prepare food for his wife.

From birth until marriage the career of the child is without special event. He is a welcome addition to the family, but no ceremonies attend either his naming, or his arrival at the age of puberty.

As a rule, a youth does not take a wife until he is near twenty years of age, and then his mate is generally of his own choosing. Having decided upon a suitable girl he informs his parents and the friends he may wish to accompany him when he goes to her home to press his suit. Arrived at the house, the father of the suitor expresses his belief that his son wishes to reside there since he now asks the daughter for his wife. In reply he is told that the family is poor, having neither *agongs*, animals, or other things of value. The suitor at once makes an offering

[1] A woman does not work during her periods, and any food prepared by her at that time would be refused by all who knew her condition.

Digitized by Google

of some of these desired articles, but whatever the gift may be, a return present equal to half its value must be made.[1] Should the girl's parents reject the gift all negotiations would be called off and the guests return home, but as a rule, both families are well aware of and favorable to the expected wedding sometime before the visit of the groom's parents. After the exchange of gifts, food is furnished first to the guests and later to the couple, who in the presence of all the friends, feed each other with rice and are henceforth considered as husband and wife. Until after the birth of a child the couple live with the girl's family and the groom serves his father-in-law. After the birth of an heir the couple establish a home of their own and to it the husband may bring other wives if he desires. He pays a price for these new wives, but does not give any services to their families. The first mate is considered superior to the others, and in case her husband dies, she acts as administrator of his property; however, the children of a second wife share equally with those by the first marriage.

The evening following a death, the friends gather and throughout the night sing of the virtues of the deceased and of their own sorrow. The body is placed on a mat in the center of the house and for three days is watched over by the relatives, who, during this time, abstain from music, dancing, shouting, or loud talking. The women cease from weaving and the men refrain from all labor. A breaking of this taboo would result in the certain death of the offender, for the spirit of the dead man is still near at hand and is sure to wreak his vengeance on those who show him disrespect. Finally, the body is wrapped in mats and is buried at some little distance from the house. All the people return to the dwelling, where the headman makes a cup out of leaves, and having placed in it a narrow belt or string, together with betel leaves, sets it adrift on a near-by stream, while all the men shout.[2] This removes the ban, so that all the people can resume their regular occupations.

If the deceased has been a person of great importance, the death should be followed eight days later by a human sacrifice. This rite, while less common than with the Bagobo, is by no means infrequent, and may be occasioned by several causes beside that of death. For instance, if a person has been ill for a long time and his relatives have become convinced that an enemy has used magic to bring about the misfortune, they may seize and sacrifice him, even though he be a member of their own community. A case is known where a thief was put

[1] Note the similarity to the Bagobo custom. Page 101.

[2] See pp. 157 and 161.

Digitized by Google

to death in this manner. As there is considerable variation in the accounts of this important ceremony the writer has thought it wise to give the descriptions of two eye-witnesses.

The first informant was an eighteen year old Bila-an boy of Labau named Lantingan. His account is as follows:

"Sololin of Ma-al, the wife of Karan, a Bila-an living near Digos, died and her husband, in company with Umook, Gamban, and Bunod, Bagobos of Digos, and the people of Labau, decided that a sacrifice was necessary both because of the death and in order that the size, wealth, and fame of the tribe might be increased. About this time Dianon, a Bila-an of Latian (now deceased), caught a man named Saligon stealing camotes, sugar-cane, and corn from the land.[1] He bound and tied the man, and after a conference with Karan, Dianon agreed to turn over his prisoner for the sacrifice if paid five *agongs* and one gun.

"The sacrifice took place on a stream called Matinao near Labau during the new moon. Two poles were sunk into the ground seven feet apart, and a cross-piece attached about six feet above the ground. The culprit was tied with hands crossed, one on each side of the horizontal pole so that his arms were high above his head, and his feet were fastened to a stake.

"The men gathered close around the poles, but the women and children stood at a distance. Karan took his stand just back and to the right of the victim, and Umook stood in front on the left side. Both unsheathed their knives and then they called upon the spirits Dwata, MƐlú and Lamot ta Mangayó to look and see that they were killing the man because of his great fault; if this were not true they surely would not kill him.[2] At this point Saligon, the victim, told the men that he was not afraid to die, that if they killed him, their fault would be great, but that if they would release him, he would return at once to his home in Bilawan and would not cause them any trouble because of what they had proposed to do. When he stopped talking, Karan struck him from in front just below the ribs with his fighting knife, and Umook struck him from in back. The other men present who were willing to pay for the privilege then struck at the body with their knives.

[1] The woman Sololin had planted this sugar-cane and is reported to have eaten some of it just prior to her death. The cane stolen was from the patch, but the informant could not say whether or not this had anything to do with later developments.

[2] The informant here added that if the man had not been guilty, Karan and Umook would surely have been punished with sickness; but since they were not ill, it is certain that he was bad, and that Dwata had taken his body up and would not punish his murderers.

Digitized by Google

The body was then cut down and buried in a shallow grave already prepared for it. No parts were carried away, although in some cases the women take the long hairs of the victim and sew them in the designs on the men's trousers in place of black thread."[1]

Datu Baklay who now lives near the Padada river, but was formerly a resident of the Malalag cogon plains, claims that the ceremony is not a yearly event, as is the case with the Bagobo, neither does if follow each death; but if the deceased has been a person of great importance or a member of the ruler's family it should take place in eight days, regardless of the phase of the moon or the position of the stars. He further insists that neither *Balatik* nor any other constellation governs the time of an offering, nor does such a ceremony insure better crops or success in war. He describes the sacrifice following the death of Datu Kalayan, his father, as follows:

"A Bila-an slave was purchased for one *agong* and preparations made for a sacrifice. A small house without floor or sides was built in the forest some distance from the town, and in this were two upright poles which supported a crossbeam at a height of about seven feet. Near them and inside the house a shallow grave was dug and then the victim was brought in. He was tied to the horizontal pole, hands crossed one on each side of the beam. The men filled the house, leaving a free place only near the victim, and the women and children crowded close around in the yard. After addressing the spirits, Lamot ta Mangayó, MElú, and Dwata, I placed my spear to the man's side, and then all the male relatives took hold of the shaft and at my signal forced the weapon through the body. Other men then cut at the body with their knives, finally releasing it from the pole. While it lay on the ground the women and boys were allowed to enter the house and throw spears at it, after which it was buried."

Baloey, a Kagan living at Padada, claims to have seen a Bila-an sacrifice at Ma-al, about ten years ago, while Bagobo Datu Ansig of Talun, and Tongkaling of Cibolan claim to have witnessed several of these events. As their accounts agree in most particulars with the two just recorded, it seems probable that we have here a fairly accurate account of a rite which no white man has seen or can hope to see.

In studying the decorative art of this people a person encounters the same difficulties as with the Bagobo. Nearly all garments are covered with elaborate patterns (Plates LVI-LX), to some of which all the people will give the same names and explanations; but by far the

[1] The informant further volunteered, that the Bila-an make a sacrifice every two years, and that several years ago his uncle named KE was the victim. At that time he was too young to remember the details.

Digitized by Google

greater portion of the designs have only pattern names which are unexplained. Many designs are readily identified as men and alligators. In Fig. 41 the forms marked *a* are identified as men and women, while the conventionalized crocodile is shown in the same plates by the figures marked *b*. Fig. 42 is perhaps the most interesting since it shows in one garment the process of conventionalization. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, are realistic representations of the human form; in 5 and 6 the heads are

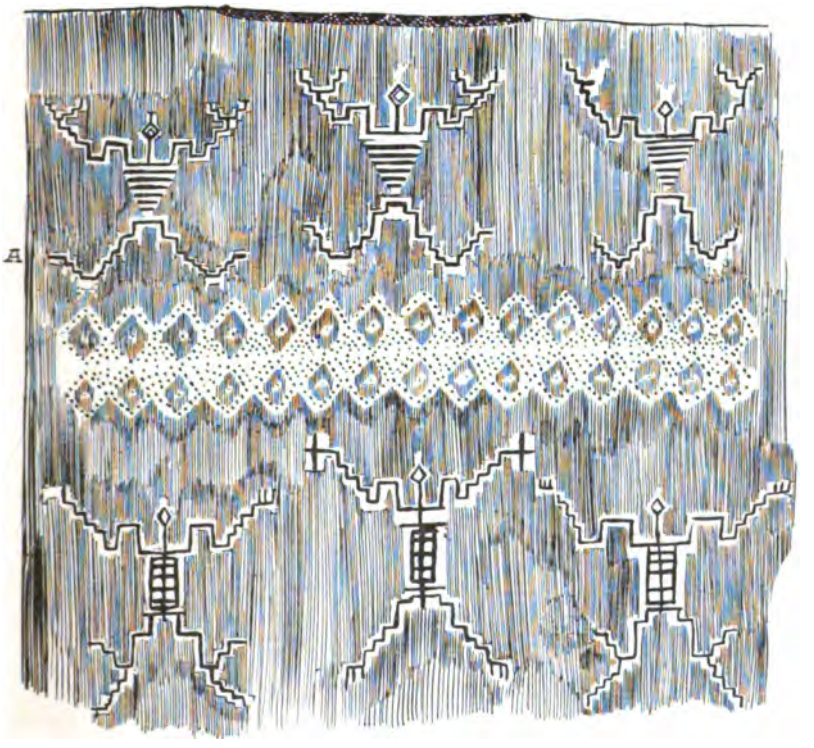


FIG. 41.
DESIGNS EMBROIDERED ON MEN'S CLOTHING.

lacking but the figures are easily recognized, while the balance have lost all resemblance to the original, except for the uplifted arms and spread legs. However, the great majority of decorative patterns on clothing are without meaning to the mass of the people, and this is true also of the designs on baskets, in mats, the incised designs often seen on pottery jars, and of the carvings which frequently cover hangers, tobacco tubes, and the like.

Digitized by Google

The language of this tribe, while quite uniform among its divisions, varies considerably from that of any of their coast neighbors. There is at once noticeable a more common use of obscure vowel and consonant sounds, such as b, f, *E*, a, and k, in the beginning, end or even in the body of the word; while the letter f, seldom found in Philippine dialects, is here very common; and finally, there is wide variation in vocabulary.

There are certain ill-defined tales to the effect that this tribe once lived about Lake Buluan, and one writer[1] has attempted to show that the tribal name is derived from that early home. Today they are still

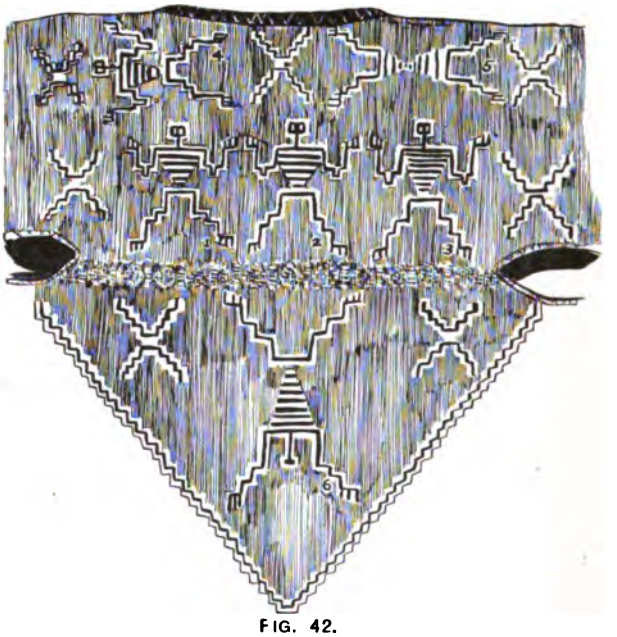


FIG. 42.
DESIGNS EMBROIDERED ON MEN'S CLOTHING.

in considerable numbers in that region, and this together with the fact that they are now, and have been since the advent of the white man, primarily an interior mountain people, helps to give credence to the belief that they have spread to their present homes from the lake district. Their language is a further proof that they have long been separated from the people of the Davao Gulf region, for it differs more from all the other dialects studied than did any of these vary among themselves. Despite the foregoing statement, this brief sketch has shown that in material culture, religion, and even physical type this tribe does not differ radically from the Bagobo.

[1] BLUMENTRITT, *Smithsonian Report* for 1899.

Digitized by Google

III. KULAMAN.

SYNONYMS.

(a) CULAMANES.
(b) MANOBO.

According to Governor Bolton this tribe numbers about thirty-five hundred individuals and occupies a considerable portion of the coast, and adjacent mountains, from the Padada river on the north to Sarangani Bay on the south. On the east side of Davao Gulf its members are found along the beach and in the mountains, from Sigaboy to Cape San Agustin, and also in a few scattered villages on the southeastern Pacific Coast.

By their neighbors they are known as Kulaman or Manobo. The former designation is translated as "bad man," but it is probable that they received the name from the town of Kulaman, where they formerly resided. They are equally well known as Manobo—a word meaning "man." Earlier writers, misled by these two names, have generally treated this people as forming two distinct groups, but this is quite incorrect, both names being applied to a part or to the whole of the tribe. It has also been customary to describe them as a part of the great Manobo tribe which inhabits a large portion of Central and Northeastern Mindanao. The writer is of the opinion that there is not sufficient evidence to justify such a classification and that for the present we must consider them as distinct from the Manobo of the northern district as are the other tribes of Davao Gulf.

According to their own tales, the Kulaman once held all the coast from the Padada River to Sarangani Bay, but did not extend far back from the sea, since in the mountains lived the Tagakaōlo and Bila-an with whom they were constantly at war. When the Moro appeared on their coasts and offered help against the hill tribes in return for land, they were gladly received and were given several village sites near to the mouths of various rivers. Aside from a few minor quarrels, the Kulaman have always lived on friendly terms with these later comers, and not a few of the tribe have been converted to Mohammedism.

Influenced by their new allies they organized under several petty rulers who were subservient to the *datu* at Kulaman, and with this superior organization they were able to carry on such successful warfare

Digitized by Google

against the hill tribes that the Tagakaŏlo were, for a time, partially under their rule.

When the Spaniards arrived and undertook to subdue the Moro, the Kulaman cast their lot with their Mohammedan allies, and even after the power of the Moro was broken, they remained irreconcilable and frequently raided the settlements under the care of the Spanish priests.

The recent history of the tribe, as told by Datu Bongkalasan of Padada, as is follows: "About a hundred years ago when Gogo became *datu*, he left Kulaman and settled at Piapi, not far from Padada, and planted the cocoanut trees which can still be seen there. He was a man with a very small head, but his arms were as large as a man's legs. He lived until very old, and during his lifetime never did any work but was always a great warrior. Under him the tribe became strong and all the other *datu* feared him. When he died his son Kolatau my uncle, succeeded him. Like his father, he was a great warrior and all the neighboring tribes paid him slaves and other tribute. His two sons died during his lifetime; so upon his death the leadership fell to me, Bongkalasan."

By the time Bongkalasan became ruler, the influence of the Spaniards was strong enough to break the power of any coast *datu*, and after a hostile demonstration by the new ruler his town was destroyed and his following scattered. A part of the people took to the hills while others migrated to the east side of the Gulf and settled near Sigaboy. It is not believed that any members of this tribe were in that vicinity prior to this time. A further migration took place shortly after the arrival of the Americans, when a brother of Bongkalasan took a number of the Kulaman over to Sigaboy. A certain amount of communication is kept up between the people on both sides of the Gulf and the dialects are still so similar that it is certain the separation has not been for any great period of time.

Upon the establishment of American rule a number of hemp planters settled along the coast and soon their inducements to laborers began to scatter the people, until today members of this tribe can be found as far north as Santa Cruz. The power and influence of the *datu* has waned until he now has a following of less than two hundred people. Only that portion of the tribe which retired to the hills still maintains any semblance of their old prowess and even those groups are growing smaller year by year.

At the height of their power the men of the tribe were noted as boat-builders[1] and fishermen. Fighting also took up a considerable portion

[1] This art is now practically lost and their boats are secured from the Moro.

Digitized by Google

of their time, for added to their desire for loot and slaves was a demand for victims imposed by the warrior deity. The women cultivated little patches of corn, camotes, and some cocoanuts, and at certain seasons all the members of the tribe went to the forest to gather sago, but aside from this the sea furnished most of their food supply. According to their own stories they did not cultivate rice until recent years, and Datu Bongkalasan insists that none of the people planted rice when he was a boy. It is his belief that all the ceremonies connected with the rice culture were learned from the Tagakaōlo and Bila-an.

From the Spanish writers[1] we hear little but evil of this people, They are spoken of as warlike, superstitious, treacherous, and vengeful as head-hunters "who expose the heads of their enemies on poles," and as slavers. From Father GISBERT[2] we learn that in 1886, about twelve hundred members of the tribe were converted to Christianity; but during the period following the departure of the Spaniards most of them deserted the faith and returned to the old life. Since American occupation they have been among the most troublesome people of Southern Mindanao, and only as late as 1911 were responsible for the death of a number of planters and the destruction of the plantations in the neighborhood of Nuin. They are rapidly breaking up as a tribe, and are intermarrying with the coast natives and hill tribes, from both of whom they are adopting artifacts and ideas. Already they have so altered their dwellings that we cannot refer to a typical Kulaman home; their household utensils[3] are those of their

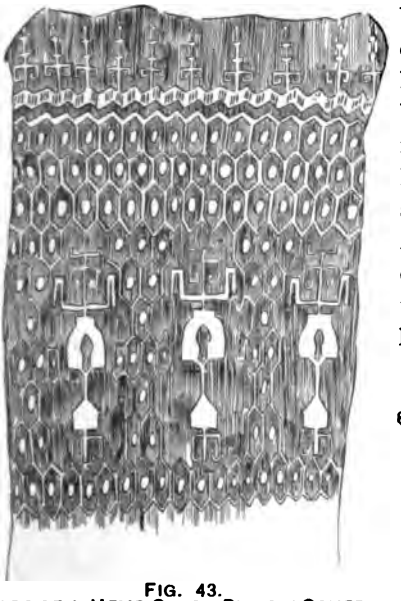


FIG. 43.
PART OF A HEMP CLOTH PILLOW COVER.

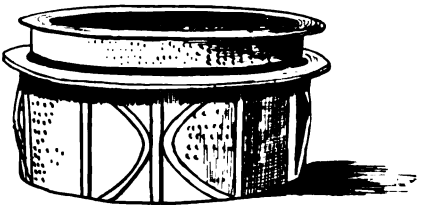


FIG. 44.
WATERPROOF BASKET WITH INFITTING TOP.

[1] BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. LV, p. 556.
[2] BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. XLIII, p. 242.
[3] Long narrow hemp cloth pillows (fig. 43) and round waterproof boxes with infitting, tray-like tops (fig. 44) are found in nearly every house. The use of these two articles is not confined to this people, but is typical of them. The same type of box is found among the Manobo of the Agusan river valley.

Digitized by Google

neighbors, and this is true also of most of the clothing, although one special type will be mentioned later on.

As a result of their slave raids, and the adoption of captive women and their offspring into the family, we find great variation in the members of the tribe (Plates LXI-LXII).

Measurements on twenty-seven men gave the following results:

Height:—Maximum 169.0 cm.; minimum 146.0 cm.; average 158.3 cm.

Cephalic Index:—Maximum 86.4; minimum 71.7; average 78.1.

Length-Height Index:—Maximum 76.5; minimum 61.9; average 68.4.

If these figures are compared with those of the Bagobo it will be seen that there is little difference in the averages; however, this similarity is less real than the figures indicate, for with the Kulaman there are more individuals at both extremes. For example: the cephalic indices of eight out of the twenty-seven were 80 or above, while six were less than 75; again, in the length-height indices six were above 70 and an equal number less than 65. In other respects there is such variation that it is hard to generalize. It is noticeable that there is a greater tendency toward prognathism than we have heretofore met with; the forehead, while high, is moderately retreating and the supra-orbital ridges prominent in most individuals; the hair is brown-black and is inclined to curl in locks. The wide variation of type within the tribe is to be expected when we know that its members have been constantly recruited from the neighboring tribes. It is even possible that a considerable number of slave women from distant islands may have been added to the group by purchase from the Moro.[1]

The religious beliefs have many points in common with those of the neighboring tribes, but there are some which require special notice.

Two powerful beings, Timan*Em* and his wife Diwata[2] are above all other spirits.

Mandalangan, also called Siling or Manobo Siring, is much like the Bagobo divinity of similar name. He is fond of war and bloodshed and when there has been a great slaughter he feasts on the flesh and drinks of the blood of the slain. Only warriors can address him and make the offerings of red food which he demands. Once a year, usually after

[1] According to early writers, the Moro of the Gulf carried on a lucrative slave trade with this and other tribes. As the Moro raids were made by water and often reached as far as the Northeastern coast of this island and south to the Celebes it is quite possible that these remote districts have helped in the upbuilding of the tribe under discussion.

[2] The Padada people say the term *dīwata* is a name which may be applied to the *timanEm*, of whom there are two, a male and a female.

Digitized by Google

the rice harvest and when the moon is full, a raid must be made and victims slain so that this spirit can feast.[1] If the warriors fail to render him this service Mandalangan will cause their bodies to swell up and many will die, while sickness will visit all other members of the tribe.[2]

The many spirits who inhabit rocks and large trees are generally favorable to man and are collectively known as *magintalónan.*

Tama owns the deer and wild pigs, and no one hunts or traps in the forest until he has made an offering of betel nut to this spirit. When game is secured its tail and ears are strung on rattan and are hung in a tree, in exchange for the live animal.

The *maniókan,* generally evil spirits, resemble snakes, and like them live in the ground. People are frequently made lame by simply stepping over their homes.

Each man and woman has a spirit, *kalalóa,*[3] dwelling in his body during lifetime. At death this spirit goes into the sky, unless it deserves punishment, in which case it is hurried to Kîlot, a region below. In either place these spirits keep close watch over the living and bring success or disaster according to their will. They have come to be looked upon as the guardians of the fields, and suitable offerings are made to them at planting and harvest time.

A few old men, *makating,* are thought to be able to address the spirits with greater probability of success than the others; but they do not stand in the same relation to the spirit world as do the *mabalîan* of the Bagobo. The nearest approach to that class is a group of women known as *lokEs*[4], who act as midwives and make use of roots and herbs in curing sickness.

The people are warned of disaster or impending danger by various signs. A snake crossing the trail is an imperative order for the traveler to turn back; the call of the *limokon*[5] is likewise a warning, while should one of the principals to any agreement sneeze during the negotiations the project would be delayed or abandoned.

There is only slight development of beliefs and ceremonies in connection with the cultivation of field crops, due probably to the recent adoption of agriculture by the members of this tribe. A field is seldom

[1] Datu Bongkalasan says it was formerly the custom to make a foray at each full moon.

[2] This was the reason given for the raid on the coast plantations in 1911.

[3] The Kulaman of Santa Cruz insist that each person has two *kalalóa,* one on the right side and one on the left. At death the one on the right side goes to a good place in the sky, where there is no work and "thoughts come easy." The *kalalóa* of the left side goes into the ground to a poor place called Kilot. It is probable that the neighboring Bagobo have influenced the beliefs of this group.

[4] In Santa Cruz known as *bagbabolan* or *mananagámen.*

[5] See p. 63 note.

Digitized by Google

planted to rice for more than one season, after which the land is used for corn, camotes, and the like, until the invasion of *cogon* grass makes further cultivation impossible.

As a result new land must be broken for each planting. When the constellation *layag* "a sail," and *balangay* "a boat" appear in the month of December, the people go to the desired plot, cut down the trees, and when these are dry, fire them.

Before the planting can be begun the seed rice must be carried to the center of the field where a bamboo pole, *talabíntan*, and a stalk of sugar-cane have previously been placed, as an offering to the *kalalóa* who guard the land. Again at harvest time an offering of food is taken to this spot and the spirits of the dead are besought as follows: "Do not take our rice, but let it last for a long time, for now we give a part to you." A meal and dance follow the offering and then all who desire may aid in cutting the new rice.

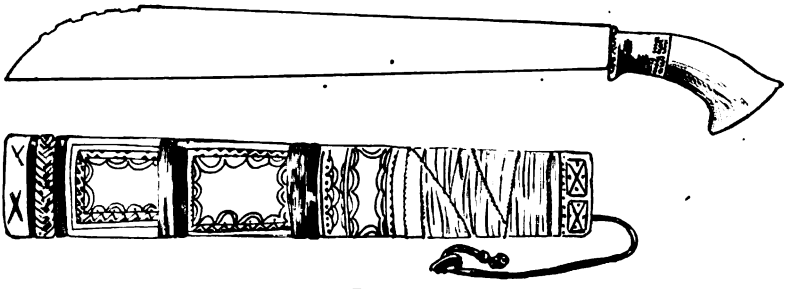


FIG. 45.
MAN'S KNIFE AND SHEATH.

No offerings are associated with the planting or harvesting of other field crops, but the gathering of sago flour is attended by gifts to the spirits of the dead and prayers for the health of the workers. The method of obtaining and preparing the flour is the same as that already described. Offerings are made before and after a hunt, and a man never goes to fish without first placing a leg ring and some betel nut on the sand close to the water, meanwhile saying, "You TimanEm must give us some food, and you shall have your part." Upon his return he places a small fish beside the first offering and is then free to take his catch to the village.

In addition to the pursuits already outlined, we find that some of the men are expert workers in iron (Fig. 45), copper, and brass, while the women are weavers. Their weaving does not differ from that previously described, but a peculiar type of decoration has been developed

Digitized by Google

by this tribe, and from them has spread somewhat to their neighbors. Waxed threads are used to work designs into cloth so that when the fabric is placed in dye the liquid will not reach the portions thus covered. Later, when the threads are removed, white patterns appear on the red background (See Plate LXIII).

Slaves are kept, but their duties are so similar to those of the free-born that it is impossible for the casual observer to pick out the members of this class.

Until recent years a large part of the man's time was taken up in preparation for or active participation in the inter-tribal fights. There are several incentives for these raids. First is the desire for loot and slaves; then comes the ambition of the young men to be recognized as successful warriors; and finally, and most compelling is the demand of the spirit Mandalangan for victims.

A man who has killed five or more persons is entitled to wear a red suit covered with peculiar white designs (See Plate LXIII), and is henceforth known as *mabōlōt*. When his score has reached twenty-five he receives the still more honorable title of *maɨsEg* and is then allowed to dress entirely in black and to deck his hair with red flowers.[1]

A raid is made only when the moon is full. A dish of red rice is decorated with red flowers and is placed in the center of the room. Around it the warriors stick their spears and then one of the oldest of the company takes up a handful of the food and offers it to the spirit, saying: "Mandalangan come and eat, for we are ready to fight; go with us and help us." As he finishes his prayer each warrior takes a portion of the rice and throws it out of doors, for "they are not yet worthy to eat what Mandalangan has left." Returning to the room they all eat of white rice and are ready for the raid In addition to their spears they should carry shields and fighting knives, and in recent years quite a number have come into possession of firearms.

Although the warriors are bold in their attack and do not hesitate to assault strong villages, they have no scruples against seizing or killing members of small parties or the inhabitants of isolated dwellings.[2] It is necessary that the raiders secure at least one victim, otherwise another foray must be made at once. The body of the slain is opened, the liver is extracted and is eaten by the warriors who thus

[1] The flowers used are *Celosia cristata L., Graptophyllum hortense nees; Coleus atropurpeus Benth.*

[2] Should water fall by accident on a warrior who is on a raid, it is considered a bad omen and the plans may be changed or delayed. In one instance the owner of a place marked for attack fastened dishes of water so that the marauders unwittingly knocked them over on themselves, and, as a result, the place was left unharmed.

Digitized by Google

"become like Mandalangan."[1] The head, forearms, and lower part of the legs are carried back to the village where they are cut to pieces by the women and children. The men take no part in this mutilation of the body, but as soon as the fragments are buried they begin to dance, meanwhile holding their unsheathed knives high above their heads. After a time the head-man blows loudly on a decorated bamboo trumpet (Fig. 46), while all the men unite in shouting "to announce their victory." At last they have fulfilled all the commands of Mandalangan and without fear they enter the house and partake of the red food which has been offered to him.

The events just preceding and following the birth of a child are very similar to those of the Bagobo, except that there are no restrictions of any kind placed on the father and mother, neither are there any cere-

FIG. 46.
TAMBOLANG OR BAMBOO TRUMPET.

monies connected with the birth or naming of a child unless unusual events have convinced the people that the spirits are in some way displeased.[2]

The afterbirth is placed in the care of an old woman who carries it directly to a sturdy molave[3] tree and there attaches it to the branches "so that the child may become strong like the tree." While on this mission the bearer looks neither to the right nor to the left, nor does she hesitate, for such actions on her part might influence the disposition of the child or cause it to have physical deformities.[4] No special attention is given to youths when they reach the age of puberty, although it is customary to file and blacken their teeth at about that period.

Marriage is attended by gifts and ceremonies, such as we have previously described. We find the groom paying a price for his bride,

[1] At times the skull is opened and the brain eaten.
[2] Triplets are killed, as with the Bagobo.
[3] *Vitex littoralis Decne.*
[4] Similar beliefs are held by the Tinguian of Northern Luzon.

Digitized by Google

but receiving a return gift from her parents; the couple feed one another with rice and are thereby legally married; and finally we learn that a child is kept with them until they have had intercourse. It is customary for the youth to serve his father-in-law-to-be for two or three years preceding the wedding, after which he is released from such service.

As is the case with the neighboring tribes, polygamy is practiced, the only bar to marriage being blood relationship. Upon the death of the head of the family one-half of his property goes to his wife and half to the children. If there are two or more wives, the first wife still retains half, while all the children share equally in the balance of the estate, thus leaving the second and succeeding wives without a portion.

Sickness may be caused by evil spirits, or it may be due to a desire on the part of the *kalalóa* to leave its present abode. In either case the man becomes ill and it behooves him to take immediate steps to placate the evil spirits or to convince his *kalalóa* to remain with him. This last can best be accomplished by bathing the sick person with water which has been heated in a good *agong*. A fine dish would do equally well, but should the hot water cause it to break the spirit would depart at once. In extreme cases the *lokEs* will gather certain roots and brew them into a drink which she gives to the sick person. At each tree or shrub visited in her search for medicines she leaves an offering of betel nuts and leg rings, and when the drink has been prepared she makes a further gift, meanwhile begging TimanEm to aid her in effecting a cure. If all efforts fail and the spirit leaves, the corpse is placed in the center of the house, where it is kept from two to nine days according to the wealth and prominence of the deceased. During this time no one should sleep in the dwelling, for the spirit might be resentful and turn the face of the sleeper black.

Usually, the body is buried in the ground at a distance from the house. The coffin is made out of a split log, in which weapons, jars, and the like are placed for the use of the spirit. If the dead man has been a warrior he is dressed in the clothing distinctive of his rank, and his grave is covered with red flowers. At times the coffins are shaped to resemble small boats and are then placed on high poles near to the beach.

For a month following a funeral the relatives refrain from all merry-making. At the expiration of this period all go to a near-by river and with their knives, cut to pieces a braided cord, which has been made since the burial, and as they destroy it they shout "This is a man we are killing. This is a man we are killing." Finally, the pieces are thrown into the river and the period of taboo is past.

Digitized by Google

IV. TAGAKAŌLO.

SYNONYMS.

(a) TAGAKAŌLA.

(b) SAKA—"head of the river."

(c) KAGAN, KALAGAN, CALAGANES, CALAGARS.

(d) LAOC. According to the account of PASTELL[1] this name is given to a small, degraded division of the Tagakaōlo who live in the mountains of Haguimítan on San Augustin peninsula.

The present habitat and general condition of this tribe is nearly the same as that of the Kulaman.

Prior to Spanish times they held the hill region back of the coast, between Malalag and Lais. On the Gulf side they were barred from the sea by the Kulaman and Moro, while in the mountains they encountered the powerful Bila-an tribe.

About fifty years ago that part of the tribe living furthest to the north united under the leadership of a brave warrior named Paugok, and made war on the Bagobo. They were successful in this conflict and drove their enemies from the rich valleys of the Padada and Bulatakay rivers, where they established themselves. This brought them in close contact with the Kulaman and Moro of the coast, with whom they lived on friendly terms. The influence of the latter group was so great that the newcomers not only adopted their style of dress, but also substituted cotton for hemp in the manufacture of their garments. Today the members of this tribe can still be recognized by their close fitting suits of red and yellow striped cloth, from which they have received the name of Kagan.[2] They have also been constant borrowers, from all their neighbors, of ideas for house-building and utensils. They have intermarried to some extent with the Kulaman, and in times past Bila-an and Bagobo slave women have been added to the tribe.

Today practically all the members of the Kagan division are found living on the American plantations along the Padada and Bulatakay rivers. They are on friendly terms with their Tagakaōlo kinsmen, and are still so like them in language, social customs, and religious beliefs, that one description will suffice for both.

[1] BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. XLIII, p. 259.

[2] The general name applied to red cotton trade cloth.

Digitized by Google

At some unrecorded date a considerable portion of the tribe migrated to the east side of Davao Gulf, and settled near Cape San Agustin, where, it is said, they now number more than two thousand.

The name Tagakaŏlo signifies "those who dwell at the head of the river," and is applied to all the hill people living between the coast and the country of the Bila-an. They have always been broken up into small groups, often at war with one another, yet they appear to be quite uniform in type, language, and religious beliefs. In recent years many of them have been induced to come down to the coast plantations, but the great majority still remain in the mountains. They are of a turbulent, warlike disposition, and have been a constant source of trouble to the Spanish and American authorities.[1] At the time of the writer's visit they had joined with the Kulaman in raiding the coast settlements, and, as a result, were being vigorously pursued by the American troops; for this reason it was only possible to gain information from those remaining on the plantations.

The total number of persons making up the tribe is estimated at six thousand, but this is at best a mere guess.

There is scarcely any variation in physical type between the Kagan branch and the Tagakaŏlo proper, while for the whole tribe there is less variation between its members than in any group so far discussed.

The following results were obtained by measurements on twenty-seven men:

Maximum height 166.6 cm.; minimum 151.3 cm.; average 157.4 cm.

Cephalic indices—Maximum 89.7; minimum 76.3; average 81.5.

Length-height indices—Maximum 79.0; minimum 63.1; average 70.0.

These tables show that aside from being more short-headed, this tribe differs little from the Bagobo, Bila-an, and Kulaman. Like the Kulaman, they have high foreheads, often full and vaulted but quite as frequently retreating from well-marked supra-orbital ridges. They are slightly more prognathous than the Kulaman, and in the majority of cases the hair is curled in locks. The teeth are usually mutilated and blackened, while shaving of the eyebrows and tattooing of the left forearm and breast are quite common.

The historians of the tribe tell us that all the Tagakaŏlo are descended from Lakbang, MEngEdan, and his wife Bodek. In the beginning these three persons lived on a small island in the sea. Two children, Linkanan and Lampagan, were born to them and they in turn were parents of two birds—the *kalau* and *sabĭtan*. These birds flew away to other places and returned with bits of soil which their

[1] Members of this tribe were responsible for the murder of Governor Bolton.

Digitized by Google

parents patted and moulded with their hands until they had formed the earth. Other children were born and from them have come all the people who now inhabit the land.

Two powerful spirits, Diwata and TimanEm, watched the formation of the world, and when it was completed the latter spirit planted trees upon it. He still takes considerable interest in the affairs of men and each year sends the spirits Layag and Bangay,[1] as stars, to tell the people when to prepare their land for the planting of crops.

Other spirits, less friendly, have existed from the first time. Of these one named Siling causes much trouble by confusing travelers through the forest. Spirits of unborn children—*mantianak*[2]—wander through the forest crying "ina-a-a" (mother), and often attack human beings. The only way persons thus assailed can hope to escape is by running to a stream and throwing water on the abdomens of their pursuers.

The powerful spirit Tama owns the deer and wild pig, and is usually kind to hunters who offer him proper gifts. Should they fail in this duty he may cause them to become lost or injured. Mandalangan (Mandangan) is known as a powerful spirit who loves war and bloodshed, but he is so closely interwoven in the minds of the people with TimanEm that it is doubtful if he should be classed as a separate spirit.

In addition to these beings are the *kawE*, or shades of the dead, the chiefs of whom are the people who created the earth. During life the *kawE* live in the body, but after death they go to the sky where they remain the greater part of the time. They do return to earth at certain seasons, to aid or injure the living, and it is usually one of their number who keeps guard over the rice-fields. Certain persons known as *baltan* can talk to these spirits and from them have learned the ceremonies which the people should perform at certain seasons, and at the critical periods of life. In the main these ceremonies are so similar to those just described that it is useless to repeat. The proceedings at a birth, marriage, or death are practically identical with the Kulaman, as are also those at planting and harvest time. A slight variation was noticed after the rice planting at Padada, when all the workers placed their planting sticks on an offering of rice and then poured water over them "so as to cause an abundance of rain." Another difference is noticed following the death of a warrior. His knife lies in its sheath beside the body for seven days and during that time can only be drawn if it is to be used in sacrificing a slave. If such an offering is made it is

[1] See page 154.
[2] Frequently called *busau*.

Digitized by Google

carried out in much the same way as the Bagobo sacrifice, except that the bereaved father, son, or brother cuts the body in halves.

If it is impossible to offer a slave, a palm leaf cup is filled with water and is carried to the forest. Here the relatives dance and then dip the knife and some sticks in the water for "this is the same as dipping them in blood." Later they are carried back and hung up in the house of mourning.

According to the long established custom, warriors must go to fight once each year, when the moon is bright. Spears, fighting knives, bows and arrows, sharpened bamboo sticks, and shields have long been used, and to these several guns have been added in recent years.

The attack is from ambush and the victims are generally cut to pieces, although women and children are sometimes taken captive. Tufts of hair taken from the slain are attached to the shields of the warriors, and an arm is carried back to the home town "so that the women and children can cut it to pieces and become brave."

The foregoing account shows that the Kagan and Tagakaŏlo living on the hemp plantations differ very little from their neighbors, whom we have previously described. It may be that an investigation, carried on in peaceful times, far back in the mountains, will show that more radical differences exist in the great body of the tribe.

Digitized by Google

V. ATÁ.

The people classed under this name are the least known of any of the wild inhabitants of Mindanao. They probably receive their name from the word *atás* which signifies "those up above" or "the dwellers in the uplands." It does not appear that they form a single tribe, or that they are even of uniform type.

The writer did no intensive work with them, and the following notes make no pretense of being first-hand knowledge. I have drawn on all possible sources for this scanty information, but am mostly indebted to the letters and reports of the late Governor Bolton, who, without doubt, knew more of this people than any other white man.

I am thus compelled to make my descriptions vague; indeed, my one excuse for dealing with the Atá is to bring together such information as we possess in the hope that it may be of value to some other worker who may later take up the task of studying this little known people.

According to Governor Bolton, the Atá inhabit the regions west and northwest of Mt. Apo, the headwaters of the Davao river—north and west of the Guianga—as well as the headwaters of the Lasan, Tuganay, and Libagawan rivers. In all these regions they extend over the watershed, converging toward the center of the island at the headwaters of the Pulangi river.

It should be noted at the outset that the Ẽto or Atá, living between the Guianga and Bagobo, should not be included in this division.

In the region about Mt. Apo they are closely allied to the Obo and Tigdapaya,[1] while in the region adjoining the Guianga they have intermarried with that people and have adopted many of their customs as well as dress. On the headwaters of the Lasan river we are told that they are known as Dugbatang or Dugbatung; that they are a timid degenerate branch having no fixed habitations and very little clothing; they are small, with crispy hair, and often decorate their bodies with tattooed designs. About twenty miles up the Tuganay river Governor Bolton encountered a similar group of Atá whom he describes as being very wild. From the headwaters of this river he crossed over near to the source of the river Libagawan where he discovered a hitherto unknown people—the Tugauanum—These he believed were mixed Malay and Negrito, with crispy or curly hair and sharp features.

[1] See p. 128.

Digitized by Google

While in the central part of Mindanao, on the headwaters of the Pulangi river, the writer saw about fifty people known as Tugauanum who came over the mountains to trade. They were certainly of mixed ancestry, showing a distinct infusion of Negrito blood, and in other respects conforming to the description of Governor Bolton. Among articles of barter carried by them were the typical knives and hemp cloth of the west side of the Davao gulf region, showing that they are at least in the line of trade with the tribes we have already studied.

According to their own stories, the original home of the tribe was along the river Mapula which flows into the Tuganay near its source. Governor Bolton tells of hearing, while in this section, of a people called Dedaanum "who were small and black and had curly hair," but who had all been killed by the Tugauanum. He was also informed that a numerous tribe of very small black people called Tugniah lived on the headwaters of the river Omiern, which flows north of the Libagawan. They were said to live in trees, to plant nothing, and to subsist on sago flour. "Their bolos are like sabers and they use lances, bows, and arrows."

The Governor classes the Tugauanum as Atá "since they speak the same language" but he adds "they are probably the same race as the Libabaoan." This latter people are elsewhere in his notes referred to as Guibabauon or Dibabaoan. They live along the headwaters of the Tagum river and are, he believes, a mixture of Atá and Mandaya.[1]

From one source we learn that the Atá are small, in many respects resembling the Negrito; that they are timid and are either nomads or build their houses high in the branches of trees. Another writer tells us that they are a superior type, with aquiline noses, thick beards, and are tall. "They are very brave and hold their own with the Moro." We are also told that they cultivate the soil and build good houses.

The estimates concerning their numbers are equally conflicting. Governor Bolton gives the population as six thousand; the report of the Philippine Commission for 1900 credits them with eight thousand, while Father Gisbert believed that they aggregated "not less than twenty thousand souls."

The divergent reports are due to the fact that up to the year 1886 only one village of this people had been visited,[2] and since that time only a few hasty trips have been made into their territory.

[1] The writer believes that the Libabaoan are probably the same as the Divavaoan who are classed as a branch of the Mandaya. See p. 165.

[2] BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. XLIII, pp. 242-3.

Digitized by Google

From our present information it seems probable that the Atá are descendants of an early invading people who intermarried first with the early Negrito inhabitants, and later with other tribes with which they came in contact. They have been free borrowers from their neighbors in all respects, and hence we find them occupying all the steps from the nomad condition of the pygmy blacks to the highly specialized life of the Guianga.

The following account of their beliefs was extracted from letters written by Governor Bolton. He fails to designate the section from which the information was gathered, but its similarity to Bagobo and Guianga makes it probable that the account comes from the Atá dwelling near those people. Considerable variation will doubtless be found in other districts.

"The greatest of all the spirits is Manama[1] who made the first men from blades of grass, weaving them together until they resembled a human form. In this manner he made eight persons—male and female—who later became the ancestors of the Atá and all the neighboring tribes. Long after this the water covered the whole earth and all the Atá were drowned except two men and a woman. The waters carried them far away and they would have perished had not a large eagle come to their aid. This bird offered to carry them to their homes on its back. One man refused, but the other two accepted its help and returned to Mapula.

"The other deities are Mandarangan, Malalayug, god of agriculture; Mabalian, the spirit who presides over childbirth; Tarasyub and Taratuan, the guardian spirits of the brass and iron workers; Boypandi—the spirit who guards over the weavers."

While in the Atá country the Governor observed certain customs of the people. As his party approached the palisaded house of Madundun they stopped for twenty minutes to perform a ceremony called *anting-anting*. "An old man waved his shield and a cloth, meanwhile repeating mysterious words. Then each man was given a chew of betel-nut and was well rubbed with a charm." "At Tuli a swarm of bees passed over the house just as the party was ready to start. This was taken as a sign that some of the party would be killed by the arrows of the enemy, hence they refused to go." "Likewise, if the dove *limokan* calls on the left side of the trail the party will refuse to proceed, unless another *limokan* answers the call from the right side of the path."

[1] See page 106.

Digitized by Google

VI. MANDAYA.

("Inhabitants of the Uplands").

SYNONYMS.

(a) MANSAKA ("Inhabitants of the mountain clearings"). This name is applied to those Mandaya who formerly dwelt far back in the mountains. Many of this division have recently emigrated to the coast and are now found at the north and east part of Davao Gulf.

(b) PAGSUPAN. The appellation by which the members of this tribe, living near the Tagum and Hijo rivers, are known.

(c) MANGWANGA or MANGRANGAN ("Dwellers in the forests"). A name by which are designated those Mandaya who live in the heavily forested mountains skirting the coast.

(d) MANAGOSAN or MAGOSAN. The members of the tribe living on the headwaters of the Agusan river bear this name.

(e) DĪVAVAOAN. A division which inhabits a small district to the south and west of Compostela. Very little is known of this people, but from the information now at hand it seems that they should be classed as a branch of the Mandaya.

HABITAT.

This tribe occupies both slopes of the mountain range which borders the Pacific ocean, from about 9 degrees of North latitude south nearly to Cape San Agustin. Its members are also found in considerable numbers from the head of the Agusan drainage nearly to the town of Compostela, and several settlements of this people are to be found along the Hijo and Tagum rivers, while in recent years a number have established themselves on the eastern side of Davao Gulf.

Generally speaking, this whole region is extremely mountainous and at the same time heavily wooded. It is only when the Agusan, Hijo, and Tagum rivers are approached that the country becomes more open. On the Pacific coast there are few harbors, for the mountains extend down almost to the water's edge forming high sheer cliffs. Aside from the three rivers mentioned the water courses are, for the greater part, small and unnavigable and a short distance back from the coast appear as tiny rivulets at the bottom of deep cañons.

There is no organization of the tribe as a whole, since each district has its local ruler who is subject to no other authority. These divisions are seldom on good terms, and are frequently in open warfare with one another or with neighboring tribes.

Digitized by Google

Despite this lack of unity and the great area they inhabit, their dialects are mutually intelligible and in other respects they are so similar that I believe we are justified in regarding them as one group linguistically, physically, and culturally.

DESCRIPTION.

Measurements made on fifteen men and five women gave the following results:

Height—Men: Maximum 161.3 cm., minimum 145.1 cm., average 153.9 cm.

Women: Maximum 152.3 cm., minimum 144.1 cm., average 146.8 cm.

Cephalic index—Men: Maximum 89.1, minimum 76.3, average 84.6.

Women: Maximum 84.8, minimum 75.2, average 81.3.

Length-height index—Men: maximum 78.7, minimum 64.5, average 74.2.

Women: Maximum 81.8, minimum 75.0, average 77.4.

From these figures it appears that there is considerable variation between individuals, but a closer study of the charts shows that the majority of those measured come closer to the averages than do the members of any other group here mentioned (Plates LXIV-LXIX).

Both sexes wear the hair long and comb it to a knot at the back of the head. The women generally bang the hair over the forehead, while the men allow a lock to fall in front of each ear. The hair is brown-black and generally slightly wavy, although four individuals with straight hair were seen.

The forehead is high, and in about half the persons observed somewhat retreating; however, full, vaulted foreheads are by no means uncommon. The distance from the vertex to the tragus is uniformly great.

The cheek bones are quite prominent, while the whole face tapers from above so as to be somewhat angular. In twenty per cent of the men the root of the nose seemed to be continuous with the supra-orbital ridge, which, in such cases, was strongly marked. In general the root of the nose is broad, low, and depressed, and there is a tendency for the ridge to be somewhat concave. The lips are thick and bowed, but there is little or no prognathism.

The skin of the body is not tattooed or mutilated in any other way, but the eyebrows are often shaved to a thin line, and the teeth are filed and blackened. Filing was formerly done with small stones but imported files are now used for this purpose. The coloring is effected

Digitized by Google

by chewing the roots of the *anmōñ* vine and applying to the teeth the "sweat" caught on a steel blade, held above burning bark of the *magawan* tree. This practice seems to have no significance other than that of beautifying the person and saving the youth from the ridicule of his fellows. To keep the teeth black, tobacco treated with lemon juice which has stood on rusty iron is chewed frequently.

Despite constant statements to the effect that the members of this tribe are light-colored and the assertion of one writer[1] that at least one division is white, observations made with the V. Luschan color table on more than fifty individuals showed that while certain persons are somewhat lighter than their fellows, as was also the case in other tribes, there is not an appreciable difference in color between this tribe and the others of the Gulf region.

CLOTHING.

The ordinary man of the tribe wears a loosely fitting shirt and wide trousers made of white or blue cotton cloth. (Plate LXIX-LXX). These garments are frequently decorated with embroidered designs and are finished at the shoulders and knees with a cotton fringe. The trousers are supported at the waist by means of a belt, and below reach nearly to the ankles.[2] An incised silver disk is attached to the front of the jacket, while ornaments of beads, seeds, and alligators' teeth encircle the neck.

When on the trail the man covers his head with a little palm bark hat (Fig. 47). This is sometimes conical, but more frequently is narrow and turned up at the front and back. Painted designs, betel wings, and chicken feathers make the hat a striking decoration which compensates for its lack of utility.

A class of warriors known as *bagam*[3] dress in red and wear turbans of the same hue, while women mediums, *ballyan*,[4] may also make use of red cloth.

Other women wear blue cotton jackets, in the fronts and back of which are many artistic embroidered designs. Their hemp cloth skirts, like those of the Bagobo, are made tube-like and are held at the waist by means of belts. They are very careless about the hang of

[1] LANDOR, The Gems of the East. It should be noted that the district from which the white tribe was reported is now fairly well known and there seems to be no reason to believe that the people residing there differ materially in color from the other natives of the island.

[2] Along the coast this type of garment is now seldom seen, for the men are adopting the close-fitting dress of the Moro.

[3] See p. 180.

[4] See p. 174.

Digitized by Google

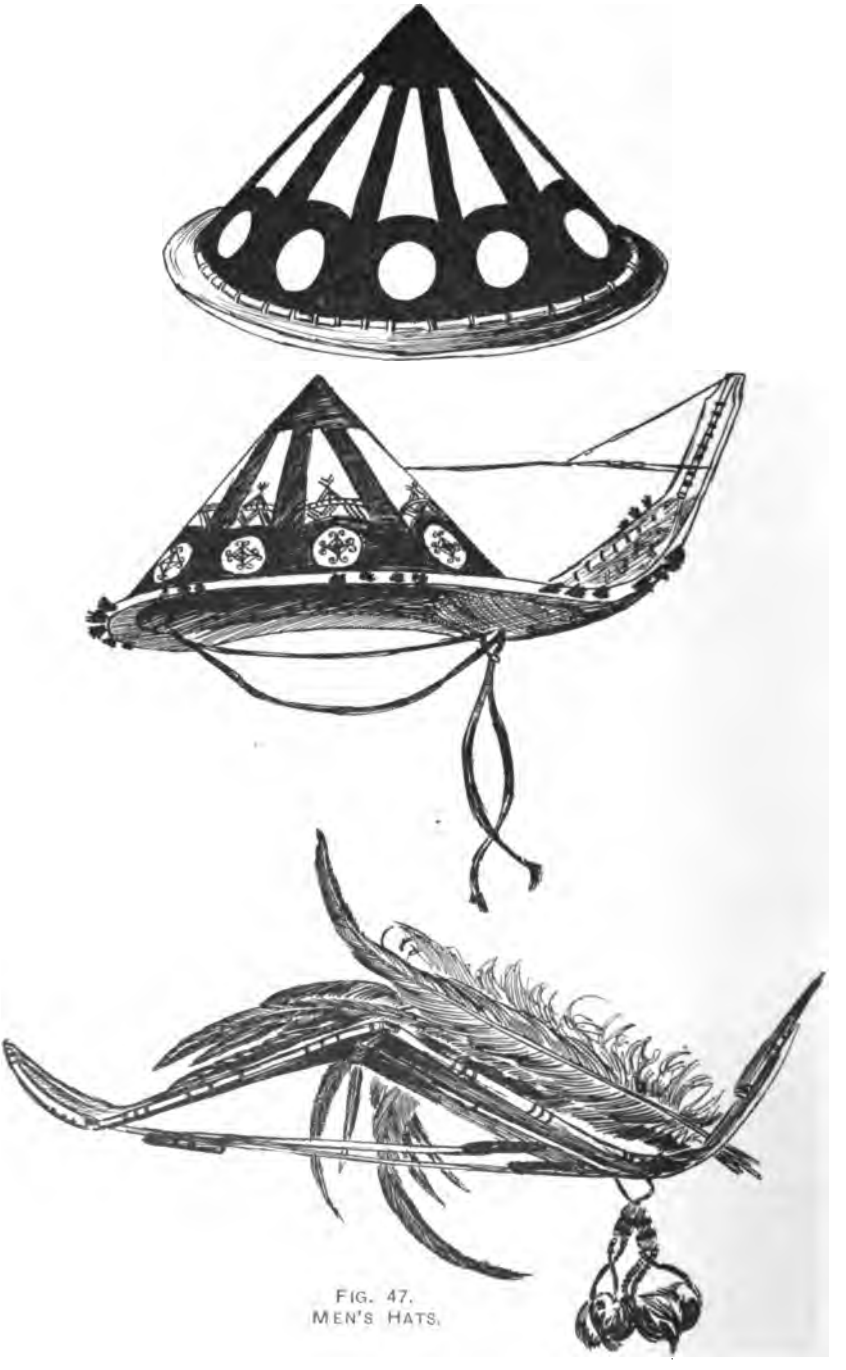


FIG. 47.
MEN'S HATS.

Digitized by Google

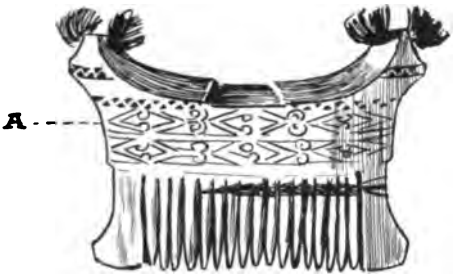


FIG. 48
WOMAN'S COMB.

these garments and one side may be above the calf of the leg while the other drags on the ground (Plate LXVII). No head coverings are worn, but quite elaborate combs (Fig. 48) are thrust into the knots of hair at the back of the head. Wooden ear plugs (Fig. 49) ornamented with incised silver plates and with bead and silver pendants fit into openings in the lobes of the ears. Like the men they wear necklaces of beads, sweet smelling herbs, and seeds. Many of the latter are considered to have medicinal value and are eaten to cure pains in the stomach. One or more silver disks are worn on the chest or over the breasts, while anklets, such as are used by the women of the other tribes, are frequently seen. Both sexes are fond of bracelets of brass, shell, or vines, as well as of finger rings of tortoise shell and silver (Plate LXXI).

None of the garments contain pockets, and in order to make up for this deficiency the men carry bags (Plate LXX) suspended on their backs by means of bands which pass over the shoulders. In these they carry their betel-nut outfits, tobacco, and the like. Small covered waterproof baskets (Plate LXVIII) serve the same purpose for the women and are carried at the back or at the side.

FIG. 49.
EAR PLUGS WITH BELL PENDANTS.

HISTORY.

Probably no wild tribe in Mindanao has received so much mention in histories, reports, and books of travel as have the Mandaya, but these references have been, in the main, so vague and often so misleading that they are of little value for our purposes. Quite in contrast with this mass of material are the excellent reports of the late Governor Bolton, and Mr. Melbourne A. Maxey,[1] who for a number of years has been closely associated with

[1] Published in the Mindanao Herald.

Digitized by Google

the members of the tribe residing in the vicinity of Cateel. In the preparation of this paper frequent use has been made of the notes gathered by these two gentlemen.

When the first white men visited the tribe they found that the neighboring Moro were making frequent raids on their villages and were carrying away women and children whom they sold to the Bagobo and other tribes of the Gulf.[1] At the same time it was learned that they, in turn, were slave holders and were eager to purchase captives from the Mohammedan raiders. The great distances traveled by the Moro in their raids make it possible that slaves from distant islands may thus have been introduced into the tribe. Later we shall see that it was difficult for a slave or a descendant of a slave to become a freeman, yet it was by no means impossible, and it is likely that a considerable part of the tribe are descendants of people brought to the district through purchase and capture. Another possible source of outside blood is suggested by well verified stories of castaways on the east coast of Mindanao and adjacent islands.[2] While working with the Mandaya in the region of Mayo bay the writer was frequently told that three times, in the memory of the present inhabitants, strange boats filled with strange people had been driven to their coasts by storms. The informants insisted that these newcomers were not put to death but that such of them as survived were taken into the tribe. These stories are given strong substantiation by the fact that only a few months prior to my visit a boat load of people from the Carolines was driven to the shores of Mayo bay and that their boat, as well as one survivor, was then at the village of Mati. (Plate LXXII). I am indebted to Mr. Henry Hubbel for the following explicit account of these castaways: "One native banca of castaways arrived at Lucatan, N. E. corner of Mayo Bay, Mindanao, on January 2nd, 1909. The banca left the Island of Uluthi for the Island of Yap, two days' journey, on December 10th, 1908. They were blown out of their course and never sighted land until January 2nd, twenty-two days after setting sail. There were nine persons aboard, six men, two boys, and one woman, all natives of Yap except one man who was a Visayan from Capiz, Panay, P. I., who settled on the Island of Yap in 1889. These people were nineteen days without food or water except what water could be caught during rain storms. The Visayan, Victor Valenamo, died soon after

[1] BLAIR and ROBERTSON. The Philippine Islands, Vol. XLIII, p. 203.
[2] FOREMAN. The Philippine Islands, pp. 257-9.
JAGOR. Travels in the Philippines. Ch. XX.

Digitized by Google

his arrival, as a result of starvation. The natives recovered at once and all traces of their starvation disappeared within two weeks. The men were powerfully built, nearly six feet high. Their bodies were all covered with tattoo work. The woman was decorated even more than the men. Fever soon took hold of these castaways and in a year's time all died except one small boy who seems to have become acclimated and will become identified with the natives in Mati. I took care of these people until they died.

"The clothing worn by the men and woman was nothing but the 'lavalava,' a scarf of sea-grass fiber about 18 inches wide and five feet long. This was worn around the loins.

"The banca, which was of very curious construction, was taken to Zamboanga last year by General Pershing, to be placed in Moro Province Museum."

After the advent of the Spaniards into their territory a considerable number of this people were converted to the Christian faith and were induced to settle in villages. There they met and intermarried with Visayan and other emigrants who had followed the Spaniards to the South. During the time of the Spanish rule these settlements were partially destroyed by Moro raiders, and following the Spanish-American war these attacks became so frequent that many of the inhabitants deserted their homes and returning to their mountain kinsmen again took up the old life. The effect of this return is especially noticeable in the vicinity of Caraga where as late as 1885 there were 596 Mandaya converts.

Several attempts were also made to colonize the Mandaya near the mouths of the Tagum and Hijo rivers, but the restlessness of the natives or the hostility of the Moro was always sufficient to cause the early break up of the new settlements.

The last great influence on this tribe has come through American planters who have prevailed upon the more venturesome members to come down to the coast plantations and there adopt the life of the Christianized natives. Many of these adventurers have returned to their mountain homes, carrying with them new ideas and artifacts and, in some cases, wives from other tribes. With all these influences at work there has been considerable modification of the life in many districts, particularly along the Pacific coast. This description will attempt to give the old life of the tribe as it still exists in the more isolated districts, or as it was related by older people of the coast settlements.

Digitized by Google

MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION.

In order to enter into a full understanding of the social, economic, and aesthetic life we must have some knowledge of the mythology and religious beliefs, for these pervade every activity.

Several stories accounting for natural phenomena and the origin of the tribe were heard. One of these relates that the sun and moon were married and lived happily together until many children had been born to them. At last they quarreled and the moon ran away from her husband who has since been pursuing her through the heavens. After the separation of their parents the children died, and the moon gathering up their bodies cut them into small pieces and threw them into space. Those fragments which fell into water became fish, those which fell on land were converted into snakes and animals, while "those which fell upward" remained in the sky as stars.

A somewhat different version of this tale agrees that the quarrel and subsequent chase occurred, but denies that the children died and were cut up. It states that it is true that the offspring were animals, but they were so from the time of their birth. One of these children is a giant crab named *tambanokaua* who lives in the sea. When he moves about he causes the tides and high waves; when he opens his eyes lightning appears. For some unknown reason this animal frequently seeks to devour his mother, the moon, and when he nearly succeeds an eclipse occurs. At such a time the people shout, beat on gongs, and in other ways try to frighten the monster so that he can not accomplish his purpose.[1] The phases of the moon are caused by her putting on or taking off her garments. When the moon is full she is thought to be entirely naked.

According to this tale the stars had quite a different origin than that just related. "In the beginning of things there was only one great star, who was like a man in appearance. He sought to usurp the place of of the sun and the result was a conflict in which the latter was victorious. He cut his rival into small bits and scattered him over the whole sky as a woman sows rice."

The earth was once entirely flat but was pressed up into mountains by a mythical woman, Agusanan. It has always rested on the back of a great eel whose movements cause earthquakes. Sometimes crabs or other small animals annoy him until, in his rage, he attempts to reach them, then the earth is shaken so violently that whole mountains are thrown into the sea.

[1] The writer found almost identical beliefs and practices among the Batak and Tagbanua of Palawan.

Digitized by Google

A great lake exists in the sky and it is the spray from its waves which fall to the earth as rain. When angered the spirits sometimes break the banks of this lake and allow torrents of water to fall on the earth below.

According to Mr. Maxey, the Mandaya of Cateel believe that many generations ago a great flood occurred which caused the death of all the inhabitants of the world except one pregnant woman. She prayed that her child might be a boy. Her prayer was answered and she gave birth to a son whose name was Uacatan. He, when he had grown up, took his mother for his wife and from this union have sprung all the Mandaya.

Quite a different account is current among the people of Mayo. From them we learn that formerly the *limokon*,[1] although a bird, could talk like a man. At one time it laid two eggs, one at the mouth and one at the source of the Mayo river. These hatched and from the one at the headwaters of the river came a woman named Mag,[2] while a man named BEgenday[2] emerged from the one near the sea. For many years the man dwelt alone on the bank of the river, but one day, being lonely and dissatisfied with his location, he started to cross the stream. While he was in deep water a long hair was swept against his legs and held him so tightly that he narrowly escaped drowning. When he succeeded in reaching the shore he examined the hair and at once determined to find its owner. After wandering many days he met the woman and induced her to be his wife. From this union came all the Mandaya.

A variant of this tale says that both eggs were laid up stream and that one hatched a woman, the other a snake. The snake went down the current until it arrived at the place where the sea and the river meet. There it blew up and a man emerged from its carcass. The balance of the tale is as just related. This close relationship of the *limokon* to the Mandaya is given as the reason why its calls are given such heed. A traveler on the trail hearing the cooing of this bird at once doubles his fist and points it in the direction from whence the sound came. If this causes the hand to point to the right side it is a sign that success will attend the journey.[3] If, however, it points to the left, in front, or in back, the Mandaya knows that the omen bird is warning him of danger or failure, and he delays or gives up his mission. The writer was once watching some Mandaya as they were clearing a

[1] See p. 63 note.
[2] Also known as Manway and Samay.
[3] Maxey states exactly the opposite, for the Mandaya of Cateel, *i. e.*, the right side is bad, the left good.

Digitized by Google

piece of land, preparatory to the planting. They had labored about two hours when the call of the *limokon* was heard to the left of the owner. Without hesitation the men gathered up their tools and left the plot, explaining that it was useless for them to plant there for the *limokon* had warned them that rats would eat any crop they might try to grow in that spot.

The people do not make offerings to this bird, neither do they regard it as a spirit, but rather as a messenger from the spirit world. The old men were certain that anyone who molested one of these birds would die.

Another bird known as *wak-wak* "which looks like a crow but is larger and only calls at night" foretells ill-fortune. Sneezing is also a bad omen, particularly if it occurs at the beginning of an undertaking. Certain words, accompanied by small offerings, may be sufficient to overcome the dangers foretold by these warnings. It is also possible to thwart the designs of ill-disposed spirits or human enemies by wearing a sash or charm which contains bits of fungus growth, peculiarly shaped stones, or the root of a plant called *gam*. These charms not only ward off ill-fortune and sickness, but give positive aid in battle and keep the dogs on the trail of the game.[1]

There is in each community one or more persons, generally women, who are known as *ballyan*. These priestesses, or mediums, are versed in all the ceremonies and dances which the ancestors have found effectual in overcoming evil influences, and in retaining the favor of the spirits. They, better than all others, understand the omens, and often through them the higher beings make known their desires. So far as could be learned the *ballyan* is not at any time possessed, but when in a trance sees and converses with the most powerful spirits as well as with the shades of the departed. This power to communicate with supernatural beings and to control the forces of nature, is not voluntarily sought by the future *ballyan*, but comes to the candidate either through one already occupying such a position or by her being unexpectedly seized with a fainting or trembling fit, in which condition she finds that she is able to communicate with the inhabitants of the spirit world. Having been thus chosen she at once becomes the pupil of some experienced *ballyan* from whom she learns all the secrets of the profession and the details of ceremonies to be made.

At the time of planting or reaping, at a birth or death, when a great celebration is held, or when the spirits are to be invoked for the

[1] The use of these magic sashes, known as *anting-anting*. is widespread throughout the southern Philippines both with the pagan and Mohammedan tribes.

Digitized by Google

cure of the sick, one or more of these women take charge of the ceremonies and for the time being are the religious heads of the community. At such a time the *ballyan* wears a blood-red waist,[1] but on other occasions her dress is the same as that of the other women, and her life does not differ from their's in any respect.

When about to converse with the spirits the *ballyan* places an offering before her and begins to chant and wail. A distant stare comes into her eyes, her body begins to twitch convulsively until she is shivering and trembling as if seized with the ague. In this condition she receives the messages of the spirits and under their direction conducts the ceremony.

Rosell gives the following description of the possession of a *ballyan*.[2] Nothing of this nature was seen by the writer.

"They erect a sort of small altar on which they place the *manaúgs* or images of the said gods which are made of the special wood of the *bayog* tree, which they destine exclusively for this use. When the unfortunate hog which is to serve as a sacrifice is placed above the said altar, the chief *bailana* approaches with *balarao* or dagger in hand which she brandishes and drives into the poor animal, which will surely be grunting in spite of the gods and the religious solemnity, as it is fearful of what is going to happen to it; and leaves the victim weltering in its blood. Then immediately all the *bailanas* drink of the blood in order to attract the prophetic spirit to themselves and to give their auguries or the supposed inspirations of their gods. Scarcely have they drunk the blood, when they become as though possessed by an infernal spirit which agitates them and makes them tremble as does the body of a person with the ague or like one who shivers with the cold."

SPIRITS.

The following spirits are known to the *ballyan* of the Mayo district:

1. DĪWATA. A good spirit who is besought for aid against the machinations of evil beings. The people of Mayo claim that they do not now, nor have they at any time made images of their gods, but in the vicinity of Cateel Maxey has seen wooden images called *manaog*, which were said to represent Dĭwata on earth. According to his account "the *ballyan* dances for three consecutive nights before the *manaog*, invoking his aid and also holding conversation with the spirits. This is invariably done while the others are asleep." He further states that

[1] PEDRO ROSELL, writing in 1885, says that the *ballyan* then dressed entirely in red. BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. XLIII, p. 217.

[2] BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. XLIII, p. 218.

Digitized by Google

with the aid of Diwata the *ballyan* is able to foretell the future by the reading of palms. "If she should fail to read the future the first time, she dances for one night before the *manaog* and the following day is able to read it clearly, the Diwata having revealed the hidden meaning to her during the night conference."[1]

Spanish writers make frequent mention of these idols,[2] and in his reports[3] Governor Bolton describes the image of a crocodile seen by him in the Mandaya country "which was carved of wood and painted black, was five feet long, and life-like. The people said it was the likeness of their god." Lieutenant J. R. Youngblood, when near the headwaters of the Agusan River, saw in front of a chief's house "a rude wooden image of a man which seemed to be treated with some religious awe and respect." Mr. Robert F. Black, a missionary residing in Davao, writes that "the Mandaya have in their homes wooden dolls which may be idols."

From this testimony it appears that in a part of the Mandaya territory the spirit Diwata, at least, is represented by images.

2. Asuáng. This name is applied to a class of malevolent spirits who inhabit certain trees, cliffs and streams. They delight to trouble or injure the living, and sickness is usually caused by them. For this reason, when a person falls ill, a *ballyan* offers a live chicken to these spirits bidding them "to take and kill this chicken in place of this man, so that he need not die." If the patient recovers it is understood that the *asuáng* have agreed to the exchange and the bird is released in the jungle.

There are many spirits who are known as *asuáng* but the five most powerful are here given according to their rank. (a) Tagbanúa, (b) Tagamaling, (c) Sigbinan, (d) Lumaman, (e) Bigwa. The first two are of equal importance and are only a little less powerful than Diwata. They sometimes inhabit caves but generally reside in the *bud-bud* (balití) trees. The ground beneath these trees is generally free from undergrowth and thus it is known that "a spirit who keeps his yard clean resides there." In clearing ground for a new field it sometimes becomes necessary to cut down one of these trees, but before it is disturbed an offering of betel-nut, food, and a white chicken is carried to the plot. The throat of the fowl is cut and its blood is allowed to

[1] In the Mayo district palmistry is practiced by several old people who make no claim of having the aid of the spirits. Bagani Paglambayon read the palms of the writer and one of his assistants, but all his predictions were of an exceedingly general nature and on the safe side.

[2] BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. XII, 269, XLIII, p. 217, etc.

[3] Filed in the office of the Governor of Davao.

Digitized by Google

fall in the roots of the tree. Meanwhile one of the older men calls the attention of the spirits to the offerings and begs that they be accepted in payment for the dwelling which they are about to destroy. This food is never eaten, as is customary with offerings made to other spirits. After a lapse of two or three days it is thought that the occupant of the tree has had time to move and the plot is cleared.

In former times it was the custom for a victorious war party to place the corpses of their dead, together with their weapons, at the roots of a *baltit* tree. The reason for this custom seems now to be lost.

3. Busau. Among the Mandaya at the north end of Davao Gulf this spirit is also known as Tuglinsau, Tagbusau, or Mandangum. He looks after the welfare of the *bagani*, or warriors, and is in many respects similar to Mandarangan of the Bagobo.[1] He is described as a gigantic man who always shows his teeth and is otherwise of ferocious aspect. A warrior seeing him is at once filled with a desire to kill. By making occasional offerings of pigs and rice it is usually possible to keep him from doing injury to a settlement, but at times these gifts fail of their purpose and many people are slain by those who serve him.

4. OMAYAN, OR KALALŌA NANG OMAY, is the spirit of the rice. He resides in the rice fields, and there offerings are made to him before the time of planting and reaping.

5. MUNTĪANAK is the spirit of a child whose mother died while pregnant, and who for this reason was born in the ground. It wanders through the forest frightening people but seldom assailing them.[2]

6. *Magbabaya*. Some informants stated that this is the name given to the first man and woman, who emerged from the *limokon* eggs. They are now true spirits who exercise considerable influence over worldly affairs. Other informants, including two *ballyan* denied any knowledge of such spirits, while still others said *magbabaya* is a single spirit who was made known to them at the time of the *Tungud* movement.[3] Among the Bukidnon who inhabit the central portion of the island the *magbabaya* are the most powerful of all spirits.

7. Kalalŏa Each person has one spirit which is known by this name. If this *kalalŏa* leaves the body it decays, but the spirit goes to Dagkotanan—"a good place, probably in the sky." Such a spirit can return to its former haunts for a time and may aid or injure the living, but it never returns to dwell in any other form.

[1] p. 106.

[2] The belief in a similar spirit known as Mantianak is widespread throughout the southern Philippines.

[3] p. 179.

Digitized by Google

In addition to those just mentioned Governor Bolton gives the following list of spirits known to the Mandaya of the Tagum river valley. None of these were accepted by the people of Mayo district. According to rank they are Mangkokiman, Mongungyahn, Mîbucha Andepit, Mîbuohn, and Ebu—who made all people from the hairs of his head.

For the neighboring Mangwanga he gives, Likedanum as the creator and chief spirit, Dagpudanum and Macguliput as gods of agriculture, and Manamoan—a female spirit who works the soil and presides over childbirth. All of these are unknown to the Mandaya of the Pacific coast.

While in the Salug river valley Governor Bolton witnessed a most interesting ceremony which, so far as the writer is aware, is quite unknown to the balance of the tribe. His quotation follows: "One religious dance contained a sleight of hand performance, considered by the people as a miracle, but the chiefs were evidently initiated. A man dressed himself as a woman, and with the gongs and drums beaten rapidly he danced, whirling round and round upon a mat until weak and dizzy, so that he had to lean on a post. For a time he appeared to be in a trance. After resting a few minutes he stalked majestically around the edge of the mat, exaggerating the lifting and placing of his feet and putting on an arrogant manner. After walking a minute or two he picked up a red handkerchief, doubled it in his hand so that the middle of the kerchief projected in a bunch above his thumb and forefinger; then he thrust this into the flame of an *almaciga* torch. The music started anew and he resumed his frantic dance until the flame reached his hand when he slapped it out with his left hand, and stopped dancing; then catching the kerchief by two corners he shook it out showing it untouched by fire. The daughter of Bankiaoan next went into a trance lying down and singing the message of Tagbusau and other gods to the assemblage. The singing was done in a small inclosed room, the singer slipping in and out without my seeing her."

The letters of Pedro Rosell written at Caraga in 1885 contain many references to the duties of the *ballyan*. In one account he records the following song which he says is sung by the priestesses when they invoke their gods Mansilátan and Badla.[1]

"Miminsad, miminsad si Mansilátan
Opod si Badla nga magadayao nang dumia
Bailan, managunsayao,
Bailan, managunliguit."

[1] BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. XLIII, pp. 217-21, and Vol. XII, p. 270

Digitized by Google

This means:

"Mansilátan has come down, has come down.
Later (will come) Badla, who will preserve the earth.
Bailanas, dance; bailanas, turn ye round about."

This Rosell takes as "a confirmation of the most transcendental questions of our true religion," for in Mansilátan he finds the principal god and father of Balda, "who descended from the heavens where he dwells, in order to create the world. Afterwards his only son Badla came down also to preserve and protect the world—that is men and things—against the power and trickery of the evil spirits Pudaugnon and Malimbung." The writer made persistent inquiry among the Mandaya to the south of Caraga, but could not find a trace of a belief in any one of the four spirits named; neither are these spirits mentioned in the notes of Governor Bolton, nor in the excellent description of the people about Cateel, furnished by such a careful observer as Mr. Maxey. It seems that this account, together with the song and its translation, must have been gathered from other than Mandayan sources. Long before 1885 the town of Caraga had become one of the strongholds of the church on the east coast of Mindanao, and Christianized settlers from all the southern islands had come to the vicinity.[1] It is probable that Rosell's information was secured from Christianized or Moro emigrants, and the first spirits named refer to Badhala—Bathala, or Batala—"the all powerful," and Dian Mansalanta—"the patron of lovers and generation."[2]

THE TUNGUD MOVEMENT

In 1908 a religious movement known as *tungud* started among the Manobo[3] at the source of the Rio Libaganon. Soon it had spread over practically the whole southeastern portion of Mindanao, and finally reached the Mandaya of the Pacific Coast. According to Mr. J. M. Garvan, of the Philippine Bureau of Science, the movement was instigated by a Manobo named Mapakla. This man was taken ill, probably with cholera, and was left for dead by his kinsmen. Three days later he appeared among the terrified people and explained, that a powerful spirit named Magbabaya had entered his body and cured him. He further stated that the world was about to be destroyed

[1] They are often referred to as *Caragas* in the early writings.

[2] Further information regarding these spirits will be found in the Relations of Loarca, 1582 (BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. V, p. 171), and the Relation of Juan de Plasencia, 1589 (*ibid*, Vol. VII, pp. 189-96, Vol. XII, p. 265). It is worthy of note that the Bagobo spirit Toglái, who is one of the pair responsible for marriages and births, is sometimes addressed as Maniládan.

[3] Not the Kulaman.

Digitized by Google

and that only those persons who gave heed to his instructions would survive. These instructions bade all to cease planting and to kill their animals for, he said, "if they survive to the end they will eat you." A religious house or shrine was to be built in every settlement, and was to be looked after by divinely appointed ministers. Those persons who were at first inclined to be skeptical as to the truth of the message, were soon convinced by seeing the Magbabaya enter the bodies of the ministers, causing them to perform new, frantic dances, interrupted only by trembling fits during which their eyes protruded and gave them the semblance of dead men.

By the time the *tungud* had reached the Mayo district it had lost most of its striking features, but was still powerful enough to cause many of the Mandaya to kill their animals and hold religious dances. The coast Moro, who at that time were restless, took advantage of the movement to further a plan to drive American planters and Christianized natives from the district. The leading Mandaya were invited to the house of the Moro *pandita*[1] "to see the spirit Diwata." During several nights the son of the *pandita* impersonated the spirit and appeared in the darkened room. Over his chest and forehead he had stretched thin gauze and beneath this had placed many fire-flies, which to the imaginative people made him appear superhuman. His entrance into the room was attended by a vigorous shaking of the house, caused by a younger brother stationed below. A weird dance followed and then the spirit advised the people to rise and wipe out the whole Christianized population. The Mandaya had become so impressed by the nightly appearance of Diwata that it is more than probable they would have joined the Moro in their project had not an American planter at Mayo learned of the plot. He imprisoned the leaders, thus ending a scheme which, if successful, would have given new attributes to at least one of the spirits.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The before-mentioned *ballyan* direct the religious observances of the tribe. Their mysterious powers give them great influence among their fellows but, nevertheless, they are subservient to the local ruler.

The tribe is divided into many small groups, each of which is governed by a *bagani*. To reach this coveted position a man must have distinguished himself as a warrior and have killed at least ten persons

[1] The religious head of the settlement.

Digitized by Google

with his own hand.[1] The victims need not be killed in warfare and may be of any sex or age so long as they come from a hostile village. When the required number of lives has been taken, the aspirant appeals to the neighboring *bagani* for the right to be numbered in their select company. They will assemble to partake of a feast prepared by the candidate and then solemnly discuss the merits of his case. The petition may be disregarded entirely, or it may be decided that the exploits related are sufficient only to allow the warrior to be known as a half *bagani*. In this case he may wear trousers of red cloth, but if he is granted the full title he is permitted to don a blood-red suit and to wear a turban of the same hue. This distinction is eagerly sought by the more vigorous men of the tribe and, as a result, many lives are taken each year.

A short time ago a candidate entered the district of Bungalung on the east coast of Davao and killed thirty-two persons. In that same section are now living five *bagani* who have gained this title by similar exploits.[2] Whole communities become involved in feuds as a result of these individual raids, for it is the duty of a murdered man's family to seek revenge for his death. It is not necessary that they kill the offender, as any member of his family or settlement will suffice. In some districts the unmarried relatives of a murdered person are not allowed to wed until the death is avenged.

Instances are known where the old men have conferred the title of *bagani* upon the son of some deceased warrior. In such a case the recipient of the honor starts at once to fulfil the requirements of election, for otherwise he brings disgrace to himself and family. In his own settlement the oldest of the *bagani* becomes supreme ruler, and if powerful enough he may extend his influence to a considerable distance. In a few cases on the East coast the holders of the title have so instilled fear of themselves into the neighboring districts that they have been able to levy blackmail, even on the Christianized natives. War parties are led by these wearers of the red garments, and they also enforce the laws handed down from their forefathers.

The day a warrior is elevated to this order he is in a large measure cut away from his fellows. He no longer associates with them as equals but eats his meals alone, unless it happens that other *bagani* are present.

[1] At Mayo it was said that it is necessary to kill only six, but the two *bagani* living there had each killed more than twice that number. Among the Mansaka the number required is often as high as thirty.

[2] These are Maclingtong at Pandisan; Pankard at Tagauanan; Kasicknan, Lewanan, and Malañgit, in the mountains between Taguanan and Piso.

Digitized by Google

Below the *bagani* in rank come the warriors, a class which includes practically all the able-bodied free men; and still below them are the slaves. Slavery was an ancient institution with this people when the Spaniards first visited their country, and it has continued to flourish up to the present, in all districts a little removed from the influence of the white man. The great majority of slaves are secured by capture, but until recent years the Moro of the coast have carried on a lucrative slave trade with this tribe. Girls and women become members of their master's household, but their children are treated as slaves. Captive boys and men aid their masters in the chase and in the fields, and in most cases it would be hard indeed for a stranger to pick servant from master. Sometimes the people of a neighboring village ransom one of their fellows and in such a case the freed slave may return to his old home or he may become a free member of the community in which he has been serving.

DWELLINGS

The insecurity of life resulting from the conditions described has caused the people to build their homes high in the branches of trees, often so situated on the edge of cliffs that they can be approached only from one direction (Plates LXXIII-LXXIV).

Two sorts of dwellings are commonly seen. Of these, the rudest rest on the limbs of trees, and conform in size and shape to the nature of the supporting branches. Some few houses of this kind have horizontal sides and sloping roofs, but more frequently a roof which slopes directly from a central ridge pole to the edges of the platform does away with the necessity of side walls.

The second and more common type of house is shown in Plate LXXIV. Here the top of the tree has been cut off some fifteen or twenty feet above the ground leaving a stump to serve as a part of the foundation. Many smaller poles help support the floor and then extend upward to form the wall and roof stays. The upper flooring of beaten bark rests on cross-beams which have been lashed to the uprights. Above it are occasional horizontal poles, forming a skeleton to which the walls of *nipa* palm are fastened. In some houses two or three of the foundation poles extend above the floor to such a height that they are used as the supports for the ridge pole. In others true king posts rest on the beams, which in turn are supported by the corner poles. From the ridge a number of smaller rods extend to or project out over the side walls, and on them rests the roofing of *nipa* palm. A space of several inches often intervenes between the roof and the side walls.

Digitized by Google

The whole structure is so firmly lashed together with rattan that it is capable of withstanding severe storms, despite the fact that it gives and creaks with every wind. During violent storms the house is further secured by anchoring it with rattan lines to nearby trees.

Entrance to the dwelling is gained by means of bamboo or rattan ladders. These are drawn up at night, and with all means of access thus removed the inhabitants need have little fear of a surprise attack. If enemies do attempt to dislodge them the defenders have the advantage of their elevated position in the use of their weapons.

Generally, each house contains only one room which varies in size according to the number of inhabitants. Frequently two or three families are found living in one house, for it is the custom for the suitors, and often for the husbands of the married daughters, to live with the girls' people.

Near the door, or in one corner of the room, is a small box of earth in which several stones are imbedded. This constitutes the hearth, about which is found a miscellany of pots, jars, and other kitchen vessels. The smoke finds its way out through a small opening at each end of the roof, or through the narrow space under the eaves. There is no recognized arrangement of the room. Utensils[1] are scattered promiscuously about and when the inhabitants are ready to sleep they occupy such parts of the floor as are free or can be most easily cleared.

The people of a community build their houses within a short distance of one another, yet seldom so close together as to form a village. However, village life is not entirely unknown, for in the vicinity of Cateel Governor Bolton found six houses, partially surrounded by palisades, perched on the top of a conical hill.

Lieutenant Youngblood gives the following description of the people and dwellings seen by him near the upper waters of the Agusan river:

"The people seemed to be living in an atmosphere of fear as far as intercourse with the world outside their crater-like valley was concerned. They believed it was death to look upon the sea, of which they had heard disjointed tales, but which none of them had ever seen. They feared the coast people with a mortal fear, justified perhaps by the experiences of occasional meetings in times gone by. They fear each other to a certain extent, especially men who live further north of the headwaters of the Agusan. This ever-present state of fear gives coloring to their whole life. They take to the brush at the least

[1] These consist of baskets, rice mortars, and winnowers, weaving outfits, bark dye vats, as well as traps and weapons, nearly all of which are so similar to those already described for the Bagobo that they do not call for special notice here.

Digitized by Google

unwonted sound. They make their clearings on the steep mountain-sides and in these build two or three of their houses in strategic positions. In the very construction of their dwellings the idea of security in case of attack is predominant.

"The houses in this section are generally built in clearings on the sawn-off trunk of some giant tree and placed from the ground some forty or fifty feet. Numerous posts help support the structure, entrance to which is gained by a notched pole firmly set in the ground and held in place by tightly wound bejuca. Oftentimes this stair pole is bowed outwards slightly, which gives it a peculiar appearance and requires a considerable amount of skill in climbing. The front and only door to these houses consists of a section of the floor composed of hewn plank, hinged at one end. One end of this is raised by a bejuca rope during the day, while at night it is let down forming a solid floor throughout the house.

"The roof is of shingles made from mountain cane; the floor and sides of hand-hewn logs and planks; the roof is at no place more than seven feet from the floor and is blackened on the inside from smoke. The largest house visited in this locality was that of Chief Leuanan, and this was some twenty feet square. These houses consist of one room and are inhabited by two or more families."

AGRICULTURE

About the settlements are the fields in which rice, corn, camotes, sugar-cane, and a small amount of tobacco, cotton and hemp are raised. However, the crops are usually so small that even with the addition of game and forest products there is, each year, a period closely bordering on starvation. New clearings are frequently made near to the old, for the primitive tools[1] with which the people work are ill-fitted to combat the incursion into the open land of the rank cogon grass. Only the exhaustion of suitable timber land for a new clearing, the prevalence of an epidemic, or the near approach of a powerful enemy will cause the people to move their homes from one district to another.

We have already referred to the important part the *limokon* plays in the selection and clearing of a new plot of ground,[2] and to the offerings made to the spirits when it becomes necessary to cut down certain trees.[3] The crops, aside from the rice, are planted and harvested

[1] These consist of a mall axe, working knife, and planting stick.

[2] See pages 173 and 177.

[3] Near Cateel the wishes of the spirits are learned by means of cords. A number of strings are tied together in the center and the knot is buried. The loose ends are then joined and if it happens that the two ends of a cord have been tied together it is taken as a sign that the spirits give their consent to the proposed clearing.

Digitized by Google

without further reference to the spirit world, but the cultivation and care of this cereal can only be carried on according to certain fixed conditions.

About November first, when a group of seven stars called *poyo poyo* appears in the west, it is a signal for all who expect to clear new land to begin their labors. By December first this constellation rises straight above and it is then time to plant. This is further confirmed by the appearance of a star known as *sabak*. If any have delayed their planting until the middle of December they are given a last warning when the stars forming *Bayatik*[1] appear.

As soon as the land has been cleared a pole is placed in the center of the field and is surrounded by a fence. This is known as *tagbinlan* and seems to be erected in honor of the spirit Omayan, although by some it is insisted that it is intended for his residence. The seed rice is deposited inside the enclosure[2] and the men begin to prepare the soil about it. This they do by thrusting sharpened sticks into the ground, thus making holes an inch or two in depth. Taking rice from the *tagbinlan* the women follow, dropping seeds into the holes.

When the harvest time is near at hand the men repair the old granaries or build new and then, when all is ready for the crop, an old man or woman goes alone, in the middle of the night, to the fields and there cuts a few stalks of the rice. Should this be neglected the crop is sure to be small and will vanish quickly. This grain is not used as an offering, nor are any gifts made to the spirits until the crop has been harvested and the people are ready to eat of the new rice. At that time a little of the recently harvested grain is placed on a dish, together with other food and betel-nut, and is carried to the granary, where it is presented to the spirit "in order that the granary may always be full." When the grain is needed for use it is removed from the straw by pounding it with wooden pestles; it is then placed in a wooden mortar and is again pounded until the husks are loosened. This accomplished, the grain is freed from chaff by tossing it in a winnower. If a greater amount has been cleared than is needed it is stored in gourds or water-proof baskets (Fig. 50). A month or two after the harvest

FIG. 50.
GOURD RICE HOLDER.

[1] This is the same as *balatik*, page 62.

[2] Maxey relates that at planting and harvest time the Mandaya of Cateel carry offerings to the *balili* trees and there offer it to Diwata, in supplication or thanks for an abundant crop.

Digitized by Google

a great celebration is held, the principal features of which are a feast and dance but no offerings are then made to the spirits.

The small crop of sugar-cane is made into an alcoholic drink, which is sometimes indulged in at meal time but is generally reserved for festive occasions. The juice is boiled with a plant called *palba*, similar to ginger, and is stored away in bamboo tubes until it has reached a suitable stage of fermentation. Another drink is made by boiling strained honey with the *palba* and allowing it to ferment.

HUNTING AND FISHING

A considerable portion of the food supply is secured by hunting and fishing. Small birds are captured by placing a sticky substance on bare limbs of fruit-bearing trees, or by fastening gummed sticks in places frequented by birds. When a victim alights on this it is held securely until captured by the hunter. Fig. 51 shows another method of securing such small game. A cord with a noose at one end is

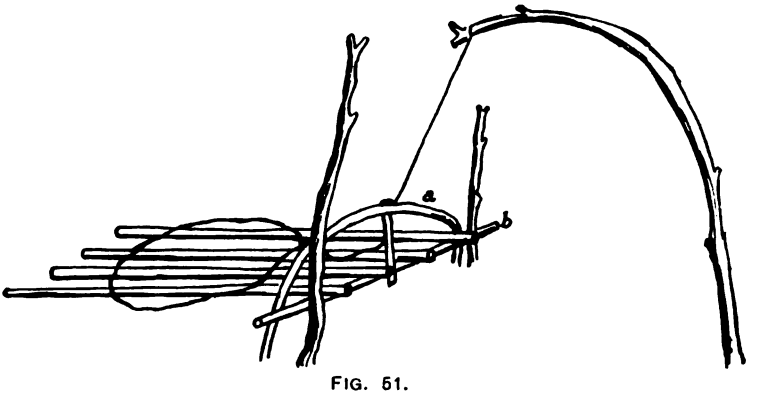


FIG. 51.
BIRD SNARE.

attached to a bent limb. In the center of this cord is tied a short stick which acts as a trigger. This trigger is placed with the top end pressing against an arched twig *a*, while the other end draws *b* against the sides of the arch. Other sticks rest on *b* and on them is a covering of leaves on which is placed bait and the open noose. The weight of a bird or small animal on the cross-piece is sufficient to release the trigger and then the bent limb draws the noose taut.

The series of slip nooses attached to a central cord which surrounds a tame decoy is also found in use here, and boys frequently secure birds by means of blow-guns. The latter do not differ from those

Digitized by Google

already described on p. 73, but with this tribe they are regarded only as a boy's plaything.

Deer and pig are sometimes hunted by large parties with the aid of dogs. In such cases an attempt is made to drive the animals past concealed hunters, or to dispatch them with spears when brought to bay by the dogs. The more successful method, however, is by means of traps several types of which were seen by the writer. The first and most common is a dead fall consisting of a heavy log so arranged in the runway of the game that a passing animal will cause it to fall Next in favor with the hunters is the *bayatik*. One end of a sapling is tied horizontally to a tree and is then bent back like a spring. It is held in place by means of a trigger which is released when an animal disturbs a vine stretched across the runway. Against the free end of the spring a long bamboo spear or arrow is placed in such a manner that it is thrown with great force against the animal which has released the trigger. This trap is frequently used in warfare to protect the retreat of a war party, or to surprise an enemy.

Sharpened bamboo sticks, two or three feet long, planted at points where animals are accustomed to jump or run down steep inclines, are wonderfully efficient in securing game. Sticks and leaves cover pits in which sharpened poles are planted and into these unsuspecting animals or members of a hostile party often fall. All these last named devices are exceedingly dangerous and it is unadvisable for a traveler in the jungle to try to penetrate a strange region unless accompanied by a native who knows the position of the traps and pits.

Fish are secured by means of bamboo traps through which a part of the water of a stream is diverted. These traps do not differ in any respect from those shown in Fig. 19. Along the coast metal fish-hooks and dip and throw nets are in common use, but these are at present largely obtained from the Moro. The easiest and hence the most popular method of securing fish is to mash together the poisonous roots of the *tobli* tree and the fruit of the *oliskEb*. The pulp is then sunk into still pools of water and in a short time the stupified fish begin to float to the surface, where they are quickly seized by the fishermen.

WARFARE

Mention has already been made of the use of pits and traps in warfare. In addition to these it is customary for a returning war party to conceal in the trail many *saoñag*, small stiletto-shaped bamboo

Digitized by Google

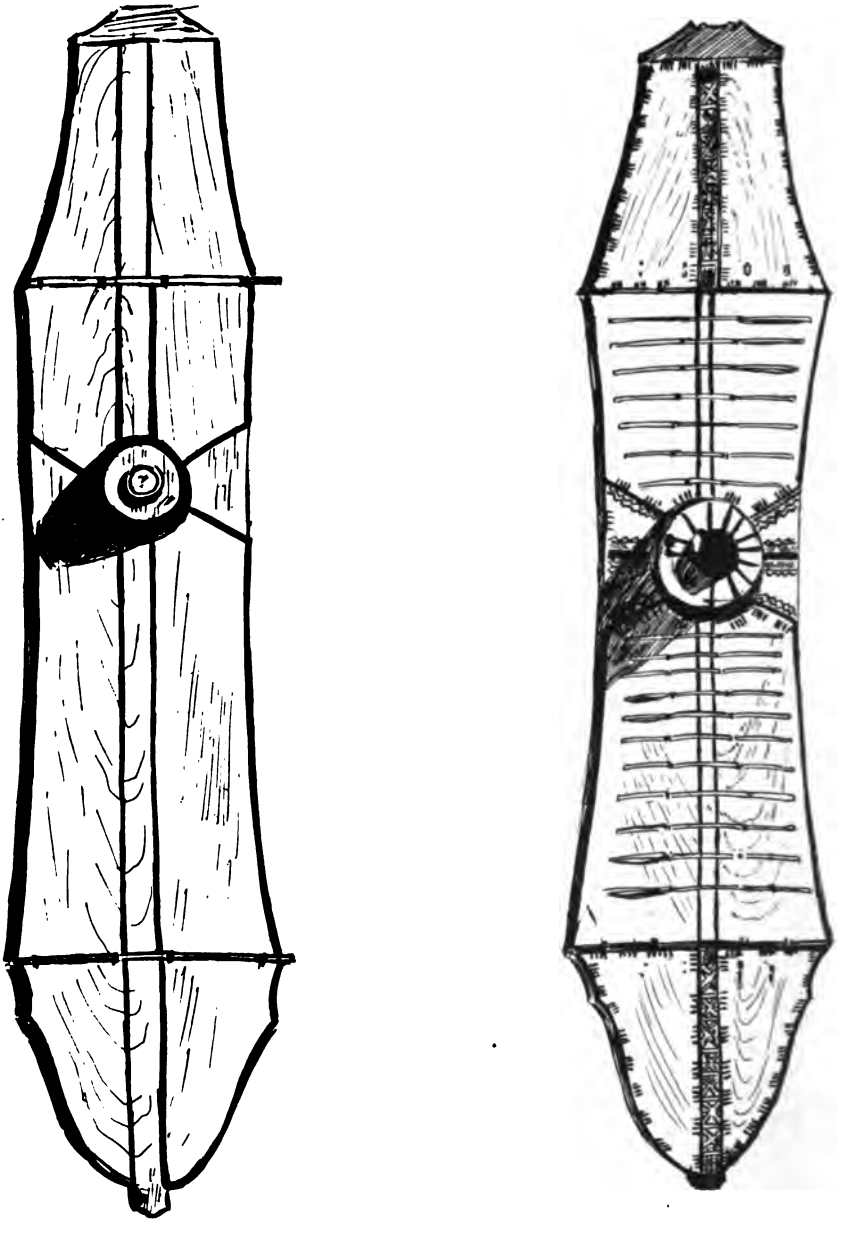


FIG. 52.
WOODEN SHIELDS.

Digitized by Google

sticks, which pierce the feet of those in pursuit. A night camp is effectively protected in the same manner against barefooted enemies.

The arms used are spears, fighting knives with wide bellied blades, daggers, narrow shields with which weapons are deflected (Fig. 52), and in some sections bows and arrows. The fighting knives and daggers (Plates LXXV-LXXVI) deserve more than casual notice. The heavy bellied blades of the knives are highly tempered, and not infrequently are bored through and inlaid with silver, in which instances they are known as *binuta*,—blind (Plate LXXVa). The sheaths, with their sharply upturned ends, are made of light wood on which are carved decorations, attached or inlaid bands of silver, or stained designs. The handles of the weapons are also decorated with incised silver bands.

Much as the fighting knives are prized, the dagger, *bayadau* or *bádau*, is in even greater favor. It is worn on the front left-hand part of the body in ready reach of the right hand, and is never removed unless the owner is in the company of trusted relatives. A light thread, easily broken, holds the dagger in its sheath and the slightest disturbance is enough to cause the owner to draw his weapon.

The older warriors claim that it formerly was their custom to protect themselves with strips of hemp cloth, *limbotung*, which they wound many times around their bodies in order to ward off knife thrusts, but this method of protection seems to have fallen into disuse.[1]

Individual warriors lie in ambush for their foes, but when a great raid is planned the party is under the command of a *bagani*. These attacks are arranged to take place during the full moon and the warriors usually assault a settlement which they think can be taken by surprise, and hence unprepared. It is very seldom that these people fight in the open, and invaders do not attempt a combat unless they feel sure of the outcome. If they find a house well protected they may attempt to fire it by attaching a torch to an arrow and shooting it into the grass roof, the occupants being slaughtered as they rush out. If one of the enemy puts up an especially good fight his body is opened and the warriors eat a portion of his heart and liver, thinking thus to gain in valor.

Mr. Maxey mentions the use of poisoned weapons in the neighborhood of Cateel, but the Mandaya of the south seem to be entirely ignorant of this custom. Maxey's account of the preparation of the poison is as follows:

[1] This type of protective armor is still used by the Bukidnon of Central Mindanao.

Digitized by Google

"The poison is, according to the writer's informant, prepared as follows: A long bamboo is cut and carried to a tree called *camandag*.[1] The bamboo must be long enough to reach to the limit of the shadow cast by the tree to the trunk of the same, as the tree is so poisonous that it even affects those who stand beneath it. The bamboo has a sharp point which is stuck into the tree and receives the milk which exudes from the cut. After several days the bamboo is removed and the contents emptied into another bamboo which serves for a sheath or quiver for the arrows, these being placed in it point down. The slightest scratch will cause death. A peculiar thing about the tree from which the poison is extracted, is that the person extracting must not only not get under the tree, but must approach it from the windward, as the effects of even the odor are unpleasant and dangerous."

INDUSTRIES

In the description of the tribe up to this point we have touched upon those pursuits which engross the greater part of the time. In addition to these, it falls to the lot of the women to manufacture and decorate all the clothing worn by members of the tribe. Some cotton is grown and is used in the manufacture of jackets, but the bulk of the garments are of hemp. In the description of the Decorative Art we shall deal with the decoration of the hemp cloth skirts worn by the women. Here it is only necessary for us to observe that this cloth is produced and colored by exactly the same process as is employed by the Bagobo women.[2]

A very little brass casting is done by the Mandaya of one district, but it is evidently a crude copy of Moro work. By far the greater part of the brass betel boxes, and ornaments of that metal, as well as spear heads, are purchased from the coast Mohammedans.

Iron working is an ancient art with this people and the beauty and temper of their knives and daggers is not excelled by the output of any other Philippine tribe. In the manufacture of these weapons they employ the same methods as their neighbors to the south and west.

No wild tribe in the archipelago has made so much use of silver in the production of ornaments as has the Mandaya. Thin silver plates are rolled into small tubes and are attached to the woman's ear plugs (Fig. 49), finger rings of the same metal are produced in great numbers, but the finest work appears in the large silver ornaments worn on the breasts by both sexes (Fig. 53). Silver coins are beaten into thin

[1] *Croton tiglium L.*

[2] See p. 79.

Digitized by Google

disks, in the center of which a hole is cut. About this opening appear beautiful intricate designs, some engraved, others stamped with metal dies.

All work in metal is limited to a few skilled men, but many lesser industries, such as shaping tortoise shell rings and shell bracelets, carving of spoons, and making baskets, are carried on by other members of the tribe during their leisure hours.

BIRTH

In each district there are one or two midwives, known as *managámon*. They are women past middle life who are versed in the medicines and rites which should be employed at the time of birth. They are not considered as *ballyan*, yet they talk to the spirits upon certain occasions.

When a pregnant woman is about to be delivered the midwife crushes the bark of the *dap-dap*[1] tree and makes a medicine called

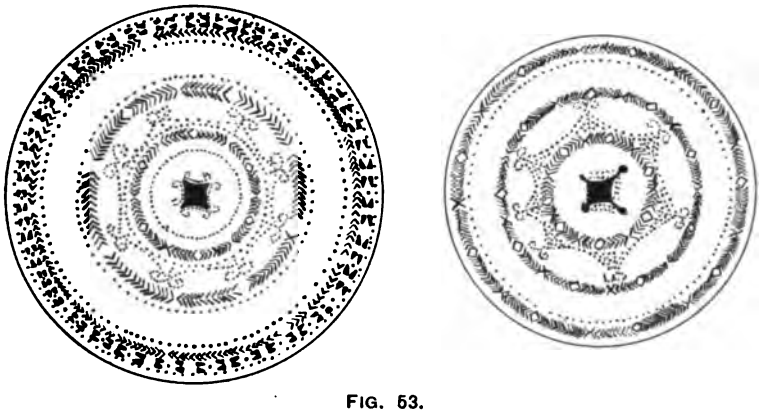


FIG. 53.
SILVER BREAST ORNAMENTS.

tagaúmo, which she gives to the patient. It is claimed that this causes the muscles to relax so that they allow an easy delivery. The umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo knife and as soon as the child has been bathed it is given to the mother. The afterbirth is placed in a specially prepared basket and is either hung against the side of the house or in a nearby tree. For a few days the midwife assists about the house and then, if all is well with the child, she takes her payment of rice, chicken, and fish, and returns to her home. Should the child be ailing she will return, and having placed rice and betel-nut on banana leaves she carries these to the top of the house and there offers them to the

[1] *Erythrina indica Lam.*

Digitized by Google

asuang,[1] meanwhile asking those spirits to accept the offering and to cease troubling the child. No ceremony takes place at the time of naming or at the age of puberty, but at the latter period the teeth are filed and blackened so that the young person may be more beautiful and, therefore, able to contract a suitable marriage.

MARRIAGE

Frequently parents arrange matches for their children while they are still very young, but in the majority of cases the matter is left until after the age of puberty when the wishes of the young people are taken into consideration. The youth or his father having chosen a suitable girl takes or sends a spear, knife, or other acceptable present to her father. If this offering is accepted it indicates approval of the match, and soon thereafter a feast is prepared to which friends of both families are invited. At this feast the price to be paid for the girl and the time of marriage are agreed upon, and at least partial payment is made. As is the case with the neighboring tribes, a part of the value of this gift is returned. Following the agreement the boy enters the service of his fiancée's father and for a year or more lives as a member of the family. Even after the marriage a considerable amount of service is expected from him at the time of planting, harvesting, or building.

The marriage ceremony proper follows a feast, and consists of the young couple feeding each other with rice and drinking from a common cup.

Should anything occur to prevent the marriage, after the payment for the girl has been made, the gifts must be returned or service equal to their value must be rendered.

Unfaithfulness on the part of the woman seems to be the one cause for a separation and this is uncommon, for unless her admirer purchases her for a sum equal to the amount her husband spent in obtaining her, the divorced woman remains as a slave in the home of her former husband.

Polygamy is permitted and is quite common, but a man may not take a second wife until a child has been born to the first. In addition to his wives a man may have as many concubines as he can afford to purchase.

It is said to be a grave offense for a man to embrace a married woman, or even to touch the breasts, elbows, or heels of any woman he does not intend to marry. An unmarried woman who permits such familiarities is considered as good as married. Despite this assertion, the

[1] See p. 176.

Digitized by Google

writer knows of several cases where young people openly lived together without being considered married, and later the parents arranged marriages between these girls and other suitors.

According to several informants, incest is punished by the sacrifice of the guilty parties. They are tied to a tree with their hands drawn backward around the trunks and are then speared to death. This seems to be the one and only occasion when human sacrifice is practiced by members of this tribe.

SICKNESS AND DEATH.

When a person is seriously ill a *ballyan* is summoned and she, after securing prepared rice, betel-nuts, and a live chicken, enters into communication with the spirits. First she converses with the dead father or other deceased relative of the sick person and requests his aid in effecting a cure, next she presents food to Diwata and implores his aid, and finally calls upon the *asuang* to whom she offers the live fowl on the condition that they will cease trying to injure the patient. Having thus done all in her power to influence the spirits she may administer some simple remedy, after which she begins to dance contra-clockwise, around a bamboo pole on which leaves and betel-nut have been hung.[1]

If this treatment proves to be of no avail and the patient dies his body is placed in the center of the house and for two days and nights is guarded by relatives and friends. During the time that the body remains in the dwelling the family is required to fast and all the people of the settlement are prohibited from playing on *agongs*, from singing or indulging in other signs of merriment. Finally, the body is wrapped in a mat and in buried in the forest.[2]

Returning from the burial all the people partake of a feast and then set fire to the dwelling "because we do not like the *asuang* which killed the man in that house." During the ensuing nine days the spouse of

[1] This ceremony usually takes place in the house, but if the man was taken ill in the forest or in his field it may be conducted there.

[2] Maxey gives the following account of burial near Cateel: "The dead person is dressed in his best clothes, wrapped in a piece of *abaca* cloth, and placed in a coffin of bamboo poles, or one hewn from a solid log, if the person was one of means, and buried. If of the poorer class he is merely wrapped in a piece of matting, and either buried or covered over with stones, sticks, and the like. If of high rank, the body is not buried, but after preparation is taken into the forest and placed in a small hut under a *balete* tree. Food, spears, bolos, hats, shields, and some articles of furniture are placed on the graves to placate the spirits who might otherwise bring harm to the surviving members of the clan or family. There is no fixed period of mourning, but the members of the family must wear black for some time after the death. The sick are never abandoned prior to death, but slaves nearing death are sometimes killed to stop their sufferings. The owner, however, must first consult with others of the clan."

Digitized by Google

FIG. 54A.

FIG. 54B.

FIG. 54C.

FIG. 54D.

FIG. 54E.

FIG. 54F.

FIG. 54G.

FIG. 54H.

FIG. 54A TO H. DESIGNS REPRESENTING THE HUMAN FORM.

Digitized by Google

the dead dresses in black and for a month following, or until they can purchase a slave, the whole family is barred from merry-making. Two reasons for the purchase of this slave were advanced by members of the tribe. One was that the family could be happy if they were still rich enough to purchase a slave. The second, that they thus replaced the dead man with another, "for the slaves are like members of our own family."

DECORATIVE ART.

The decorative art of the Mandaya is similar in many respects to that of the Bagobo and Bila-an, yet in part it differs greatly from both. As is true with the other tribes, the weavers make use of many figures which they do not associate with any living forms, but which, nevertheless, strongly suggest that they may have been derived from realistic designs. In addition to such patterns they frequently employ figures which are intentional copies of human or animal forms. Of these the most common are those representing a man and a crocodile; these sometimes appear together, sometimes alone. The requirements of the space to be filled, as well as readiness of the worker to alter any part in order to give a more pleasing effect to the design have resulted in many distorted and conventionalized figures which can only be explained by the artist. The accompanying drawings are taken from articles collected by the writer and now in the Field Museum of Natural History.

Patterns *A* to *H* in Fig. 54 appear in hemp cloth skirts. These show the steps in the conventionalization of the human figure,[1] as explained by the weavers. In the first four the forms are so realistic that they need no explanation, but *E* is more complicated. Here two greatly conventionalized figures have been used, one erect, the other with head down. The size of the head has been increased while the body is represented by a small diamond-shaped pattern with outstretched arms attached. The legs and feet of both figures help to form a pattern similar to a head, except that it lacks the "hair" shown in the end designs. *F* resembles the preceding quite closely. In it the central head-like pattern does not appear and the legs and feet of one figure help to form the head of the other. This design has been doubled, thus necessitating some alteration of the figures at the points of union. In *G* and *H* nearly all the realistic elements have vanished, yet certain resemblance to *D* and E can be discerned.

[1] One weaver insisted that this figure represents a frog, because of its webbed feet, but none of the others agreed with her.

Digitized by Google

55A.

55B.

55C.

55G.

55D.

55E.

55F.

55H.

55I.

55J.

FIG. 55A TO J. CROCODILE DESIGNS.

Digitized by Google

We have already learned that the crocodile is held in great regard and in some sections there is evidence of its more or less sacred character. Its importance in the minds of the people is well shown by the frequency with which it appears in their decorative designs. Fig. 55*A* shows one of these animals which has just eaten a man. Both figures are so realistic that the intention of the weaver is apparent. In *B*, *D*, *E*, and *F*, the animal is still realistic, but the man disappears, and in his place is a formless object or straight lines which are identified as "something eaten."

The pattern *G* is given as the next step in the conventionalization. Here the legs, feet, and "something eaten" have assumed undue proportions, while nearly every trace of likeness has vanished. This

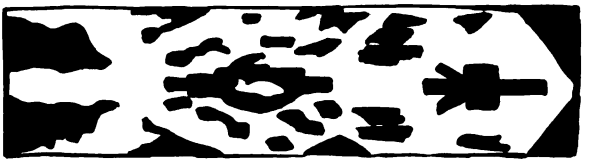


FIG. 56.
CROCODILE DESIGN.

FIG. 57.
DESIGN USED IN WEAVING.

figure is multiplied five times to obtain the highly conventionalized form shown in *H*.

By referring to *G* it is possible to see how the complicated designs in *I* and *J* have been derived, although they bear little resemblance to the original crocodile form.

Fig. 56 was identified as a crocodile but was not regarded as a step in the conventionalization shown. Many other figures such as 57 appear so closely related to the designs just described that it seems certain they must have had a common origin, yet this was denied by all the weavers, who insisted that such decorations were added only to make the garments pretty.

Digitized by Google

Going from weaving to designs cut in wood, something of the same state of affairs is encountered. Pattern *a* on the bamboo comb (Fig.

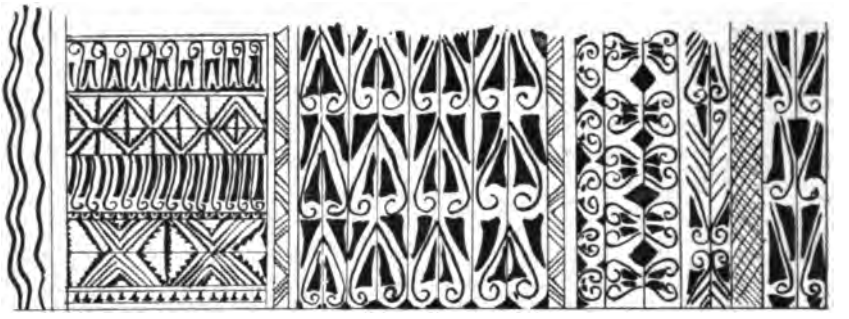


FIG. 58.
INCISED DESIGNS ON A BAMBOO LIME HOLDER.

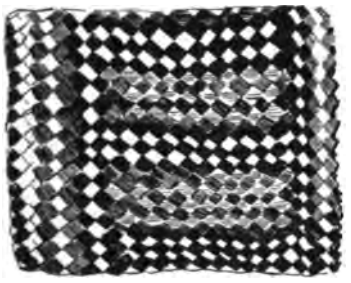
48) is identified as the crocodile, yet the very similar figures shown on a bamboo lime holder (Fig. 58) and on a wooden clothes-hanger (Fig. 59) are not so recognized.

FIG. 59.
CLOTHES HANGER.

Figs. 60 and 61 show characteristic designs which are embroidered on jackets or carrying bags. All these are added with the one idea of beautifying the garment, without any thought of copying some living form. This is true also of the incised zigzag lines, scrolls, and meander patterns seen on the silver breast disks (Fig. 53), and those stained on palm bark hats (Fig. 47).

Tobacco pouches (Fig. 62) are often completely covered with bright colored geometrical designs embroidered in trade yarn. This work, which is quite unlike the other decoration used by this people, was probably introduced along with trade yarn and analine dyes.

Digitized by Google



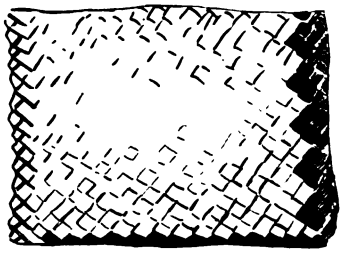


FIG. 62. TOBACCO POUCHES.

FIG. 61. FIG. 62.

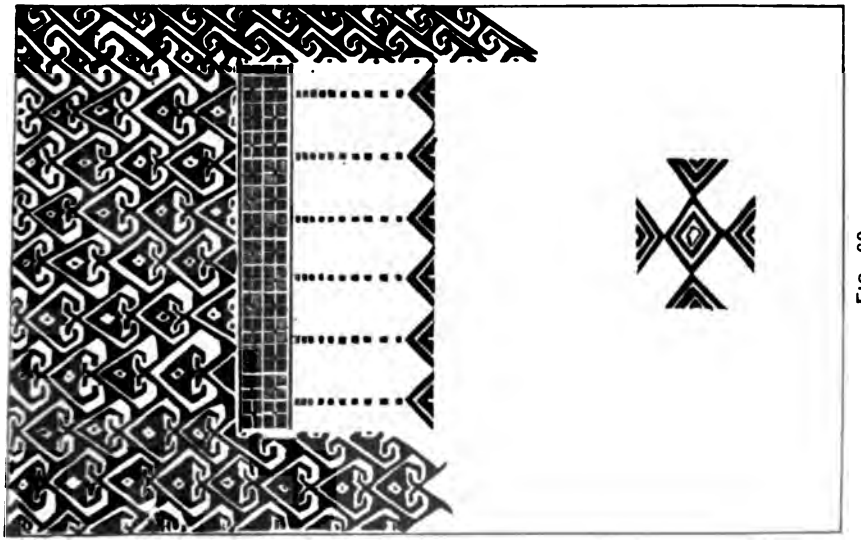


FIG. 60.

FIGS. 60 AND 61. EMBROIDERED DESIGNS ON JACKTES AND CARRYING BAGS.

Digitized by Google

CONCLUSION

From the material now at our disposal certain general conclusions can be drawn.

A comparison of the physical measurements indicates that no group is of pure race. There are significant variations between members of different tribes, but these occur also between individuals of the same village. The average person in each group is short-headed, yet long-headed individuals are found in every tribe and variations just as great as this appear in the other measurements and observations.

We have previously noted the evidences of an aboriginal pygmy population, that has been partially absorbed by intermarriage with the later comers.[1] In all the groups, except the Bila-an, the percentage of individuals showing evidences of Negrito blood increases as we go from the coasts toward the interior, until in such divisions as the Obo and Tigdapaya of the Bagobo, and the Tugauanum of the Atá, practically all the people show traces of this admixture.

In addition to the types already described there are found in each tribe individuals who in all but color might readily pass as white men. These persons freely intermarry with the rest of the population, and it is no uncommon thing to find in one family children of this sort as well as those showing Negrito characteristics or those conforming to the average type.[2]

The facts indicate that the tribes now found in Davao District did not reach the coasts of Mindanao at the same time, but rather that they represent several periods of migration, of which the Kulaman is the last. This tribe, which only a few generations ago seems to have been made up of seafarers, has not yet entirely adapted itself to a settled existence and it is only within the lifetime of the present generation that its members have taken seriously to agriculture.

It appears that the Bila-an once inhabited the district about Lake Buluan, but the pressure of the Moro has forced most of them from that region toward the mountains to the south and east. They have taken possession of both sides of this mountain range, except for the lower eastern slopes where they have encountered the Tagakaŏlo.

The other tribes probably landed on the southern or southeastern coast of the Island, from whence they have gradually moved to their present habitats.

[1] Negrito are reported from the Samal Islands in the Gulf of Davao.

[2] This will be discussed in a forthcoming publication on Physical Types. That paper will present a full series of measurements accompanied by photographs, including the Bukidnon of North Central Mindanao in which tribe this type is more frequently seen than in Davao District.

Digitized by Google

Intermarriage between the tribes, Moro raids, warfare with the accompanying capture of slaves, and the possible influence of boat-loads of castaways, all have to be considered in dealing with the types found in Davao District. We have already seen that the physical measurements indicate a complex racial history.

After giving full credit to all these influences, however, it does not appear to the writer that such radical differences exist between the tribes as will justify us in assigning to them different ancestry or places of origin. The summarized description of the Bagobo given on page 56 would, with only slight modification, apply to all the other tribes, with the exception of certain groups of the Atá in which the Negrito element is very pronounced. In brief, the various influences that have been at work on one group have influenced all the others, since their arrival on the island of Mindanao.

This conclusion is further justified by the language in which a large per cent of the words in daily use are common to all the groups. Even the Bila-an dialect, which differs more from all the others than do any of those from one another, has so many words in common with the coast tongues and is so similar in structure that one of my native boys, who never before had seen a Bila-an, was able freely to carry on a conversation within a few days after his arrival in one of their most isolated settlements.

Similar as are the people and their dialects, the cultural agreements are even more noticeable. Taking the Bagobo as a starting point, we find a highly developed culture which, with a few minor changes, holds good for the tribes immediately surrounding. These in turn differ little from their neighbors, although from time to time some new forms appear. The Cibolan type of dwelling, with its raised platform at one end and box-like enclosures along the side walls, is met with until the Mandaya territory is approached, while, with little variation, the house furnishings and utensils in daily use are the same throughout the District. The same complicated method of overtying, dyeing, and weaving of hemp employed in the manufacture of women's skirts is in use from Cateel in the north to Sarangani Bay in the south, while in the manufacture of weapons the iron worker in Cibolan differs not at all from his fellow-craftsman among the Mandaya. Here we are confronted by the objection that, so far as is known, no iron work is done by the Bila-an and Atá, but this is a condition which is encountered throughout the archipelago. In the interior of Luzon are found isolated villages, the inhabitants of which are expert workers in iron

Digitized by Google

and steel, while their neighbors seem to be ignorant of the process.[1] The writer holds to the opinion that iron working is an ancient art throughout the Philippine archipelago and that its use for various reasons, such as lack of material, has died out in certain sections. Brass workers are found among most of the tribes, but, as was observed earlier in this paper, there is sufficient evidence that the industry is of recent introduction, and the amount and excellence of the work done by the brass casters is governed by the nearness or remoteness of Moro settlements.

Except for the cotton garments recently adopted by the Kagan branch of the Tagakaōlo, and the suits worn by the Mandaya men, the clothing seen throughout the District is very similar. A few ornaments, such as the silver rings and breast disks of the Mandaya, have only a limited distribution, but for the most part the decorations worn by the different tribes differ only in the number of beads, bells, and shell disks used in their manufacture.

In the ornamentation of their garments certain groups have specialized until the bead work of the Bagobo excels all such work found in the Philippines. The same can be said of the intricate and beautifully embroidered designs seen in the garments of the Bila-an or the oversewed fabrics of the Kulaman, while the crudely embroidered patterns of the Mandaya are wonderfully effective. Yet, despite apparent dissimilarities, there is such a likeness in many forms of ornamentation, as well as in the technique of the methods of production, that there seems to be ample proof of free borrowing, or of a common origin.

On the non-material side the similarities between the groups are even more marked. In each tribe the warriors gain distinction among their fellows, the protection of certain spirits, and the privilege of wearing red garments, by killing a certain number of persons. Except among the Kulaman, mediums much like the *mabaltan* of the Bagobo make known the wishes of the superior beings and direct the ceremonies. The people are instructed when to plant by the spirits who place certain constellations in the skies. These are the same for all the groups, although often known by different names. The *limokon* warns or encourages the traveler, while certain acts of the individual, such as sneezing, are looked upon as warnings from unseen beings. Many of these beings having like attributes, although often bearing different names, are known to each group. The idea of one or more spirits dwelling in different parts of a man's body is widespread, while

[1] The process used in Northern Luzon is very similar to that employed in Southern Mindanao.

Digitized by Google

the belief that the right side of the body is under the care of good influences and the left subject to the bad, is well nigh universal in the District.

In conclusion note should be made of oft repeated assertions to the effect that a part of the people of Davao District are white, and that they are also cannibals and headhunters. The first can be dismissed with the statement that so far as the writer has been able to observe or to learn from trustworthy sources, there is no justification for such a story. It can be just as positively stated that neither the Mandaya nor any other tribe here described practice cannabalism. Warriors do eat a part of the livers and hearts of men who have shown great valor, the eaters thus securing some of the good qualities of the victims. The Kulaman warriors always taste of the liver of the slain "in order to become like Mandalangan," but they expressed the greatest disgust when it was suggested that the balance of the body might make good food.

While it is true that the Kulaman take the heads, and sometimes the arms,[1] of slain foes, and that the same custom is sometimes followed by individual warriors of the other tribes, head-hunting for the sake of the trophy is not practiced here, as is the case in Northern Luzon. The skull or other portions of the body are kept only long enough to prove the murder, or until they can be mutilated by the women and children, "who thus become brave."

[1] This is also the custom of the Bukidnon.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

BAGOBO YOUTH WEARING THE PRIZED IVORY EAR PLUGS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE MEN RETAIN THEIR LONG HAIR IN PLACE WITH DECORATED HEAD-BANDS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

MANY STRANDS OF BEADS SURROUND THE NECKS OF THE MEN.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE FEATURES OF SOME OF THE MEN APPROACH THOSE OF THE NEGRITO.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

BAGOBO WOMAN WEARING THE CUSTOMARY HAIR AND NECK ORNAMENTS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

A TYPICAL BAGOBO WOMAN.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

ALTHOUGH THE HAIR IS OILED AND COMBED STRAIGHT BACK, STRAY LOCKS ARE CONTINUALLY CREEPING OUT.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE CLOTHING WORN BY BOTH SEXES IS DECORATED WITH BEADS, SHELL DISKS AND EMBROIDERY.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

A GROUP OF WOMEN IN GALA DRESS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLATE XI.

a—In lieu of pockets, the men carry decorated hemp cloth bags on their backs.
b—The passing and coming generation.
c and d—Customary dress of the children.

Digitized by Google

a

b

c

d

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLATE XII.

a—A youth having his teeth cut to points.
b—The mutilated teeth.

Digitized by Google

a b

(*Photo from the Philippine Bureau of Science.*)

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

IN HOUSEBUILDING THE ROOF IS MADE FIRST AND IS THEN RAISED TO THE DESIRED HEIGHT.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

A FARM HOUSE WITH RICE GRANARY IN THE FOREGROUND.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

HOME OF DATU TONGKALING.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

a

b

a—A HOUSE IN BANSALAN.
b—BAMBOO FENCE AROUND A CLEARING.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLATE XVII.

a—Brass boxes in which betel-nut, leaves and lime are carried.
b—Small mortars and pestles used in crushing betel-nut.

Digitized by Google

a

b

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

WOODEN DECOY USED IN HUNTING DOVES.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

BAKO-BAKO. TOBACCO BOXES CARRIED BY THE MEN.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

WOMAN STRIPPING THE HEMP WHICH IS TO BE USED FOR WEAVING.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

OVER-TYING THE WARP THREADS BEFORE DYEING.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLATE XXII.

a. Dried hemp.
b. Overtied warp threads. Ready to be colored.
c. Dyed threads with overtying removed.
d. Colored threads ready for the loom.

Digitized by Google

a

b

c

d

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

WEAVING.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

POLISHING THE CLOTH.
(*Photo from Philippine Bureau of Science.*)

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

MAN'S SUIT DECORATED WITH BEADS, SHELL DISKS AND APPLIQUE.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

FIGHTING KNIVES.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

a

b

a—SHEATHS FOR THE FIGHTING KNIVES.
b—SHEATHS FOR THE SMALL WORKING KNIVES.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLATE XXXIV.

a. Bamboo basket woven in two colors. The central rim design (X) is identified as a crocodile.

b. The basket rim has been decorated by sewing in designs with fern cuticle.

Digitized by Google

a b

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLATE XXXV.

a—Decorated tobacco boxes. The front of No. 2 is inlaid with yellow orchid cuticle.

b—Wooden tops of tobacco boxes inlaid with beads.

Digitized by Google

a

b

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

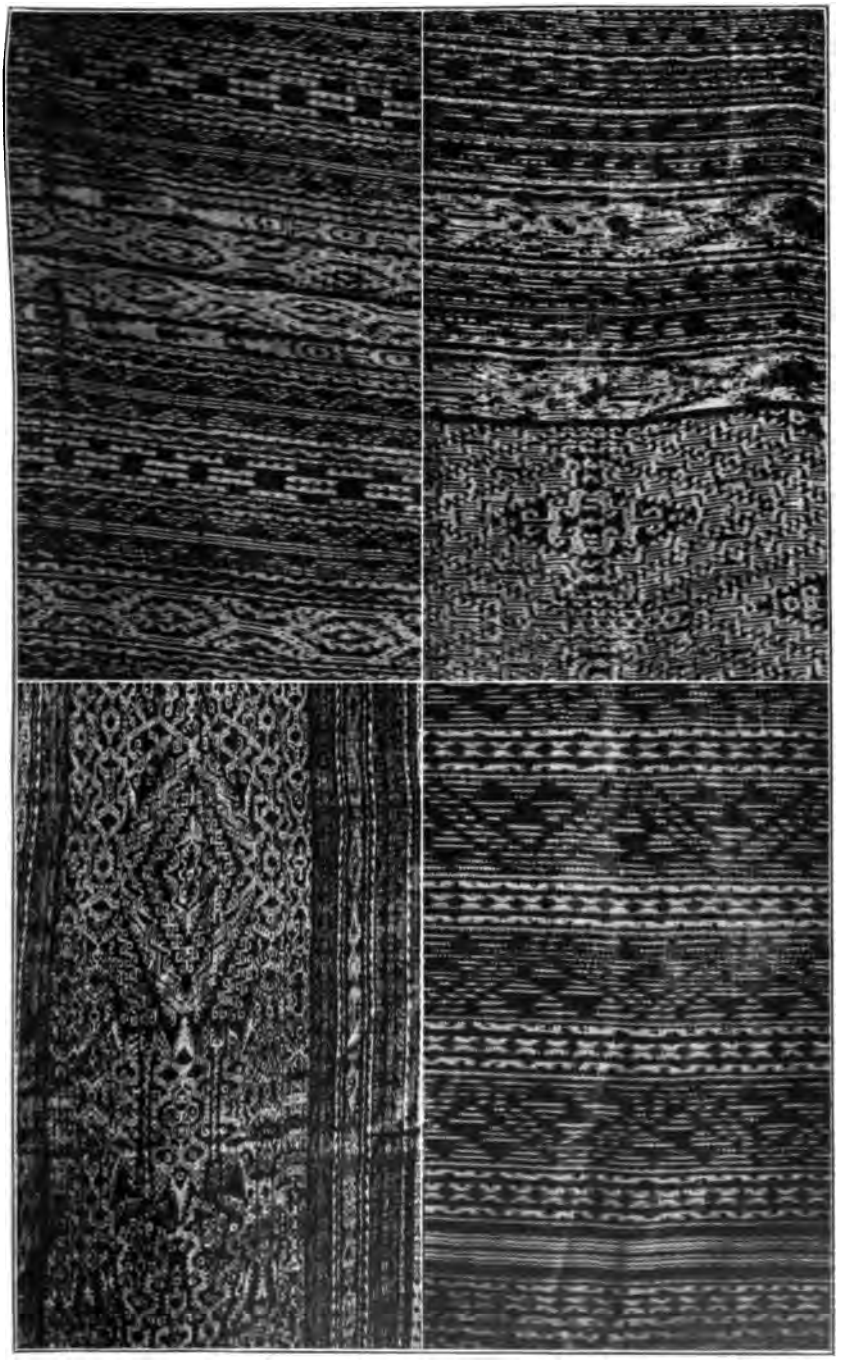
TRINKET BASKETS CARRIED BY THE WOMEN.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

a

b



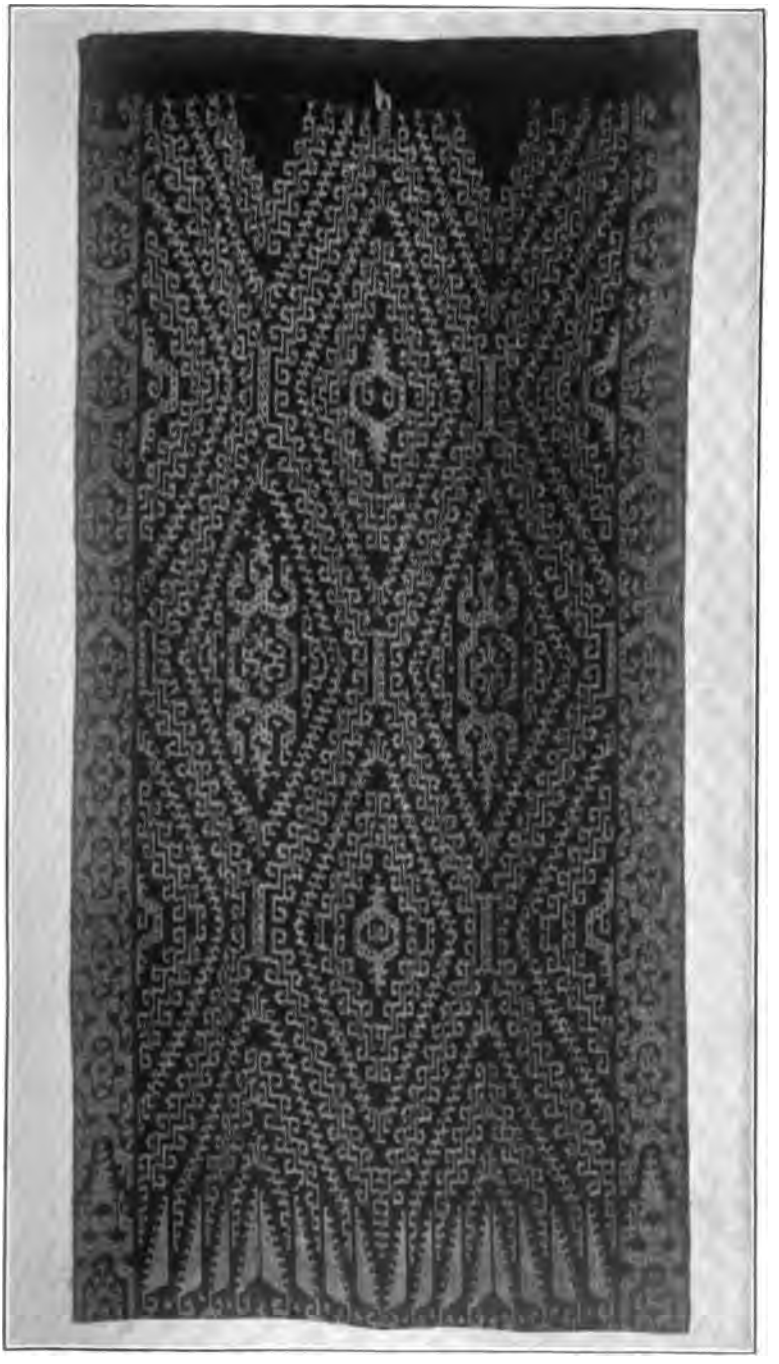
c

d

TYPICAL SPECIMENS OF WEAVING IN HEMP CLOTH.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



CENTER PANEL IN A WOMAN'S HEMP CLOTH SKIRT.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

BEADED BAGS WHICH THE MEN CARRY ON THEIR BACKS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

MEN'S CARRYING BAGS DECORATED WITH BEADS, EMBROIDERY AND APPLIQUE.

Digitized by Google

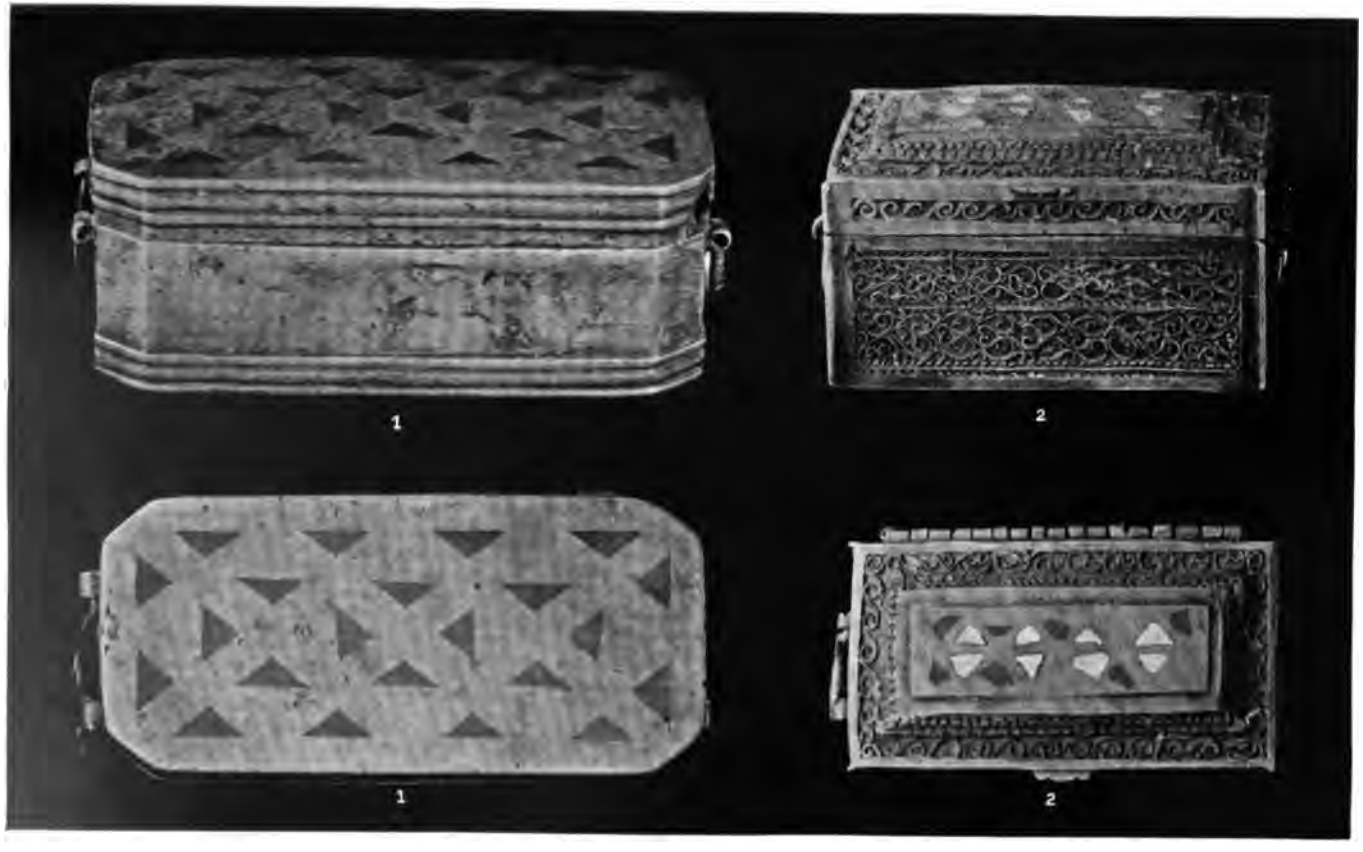
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLATE XLI.

a—No. 1. Brass betel-nut box made by the Moro. No. 2. Same of Bagobo manufacture.
b—Tops of the same boxes.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

A BILA-AN LEBE. *(Photo from the Philippine Bureau of Science.)*

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

BILA-AN MAN WEARING WOODEN EAR PLUGS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

BILA-AN FROM THE MAAL RIVER.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

BILA-AN LABORERS ON AN AMERICAN PLANTATION.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

WOMEN OF LABAU.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLATE XLVII.

a—Woman in typical Bila-an dress.
b—Bila-an woman on a coast plantation.

Digitized by Google

a

b

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

ORDINARY DRESS OF THE WOMEN.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CUSTOMARY DRESS OF THE MEN.
(Photo from Philippine Bureau of Science.)

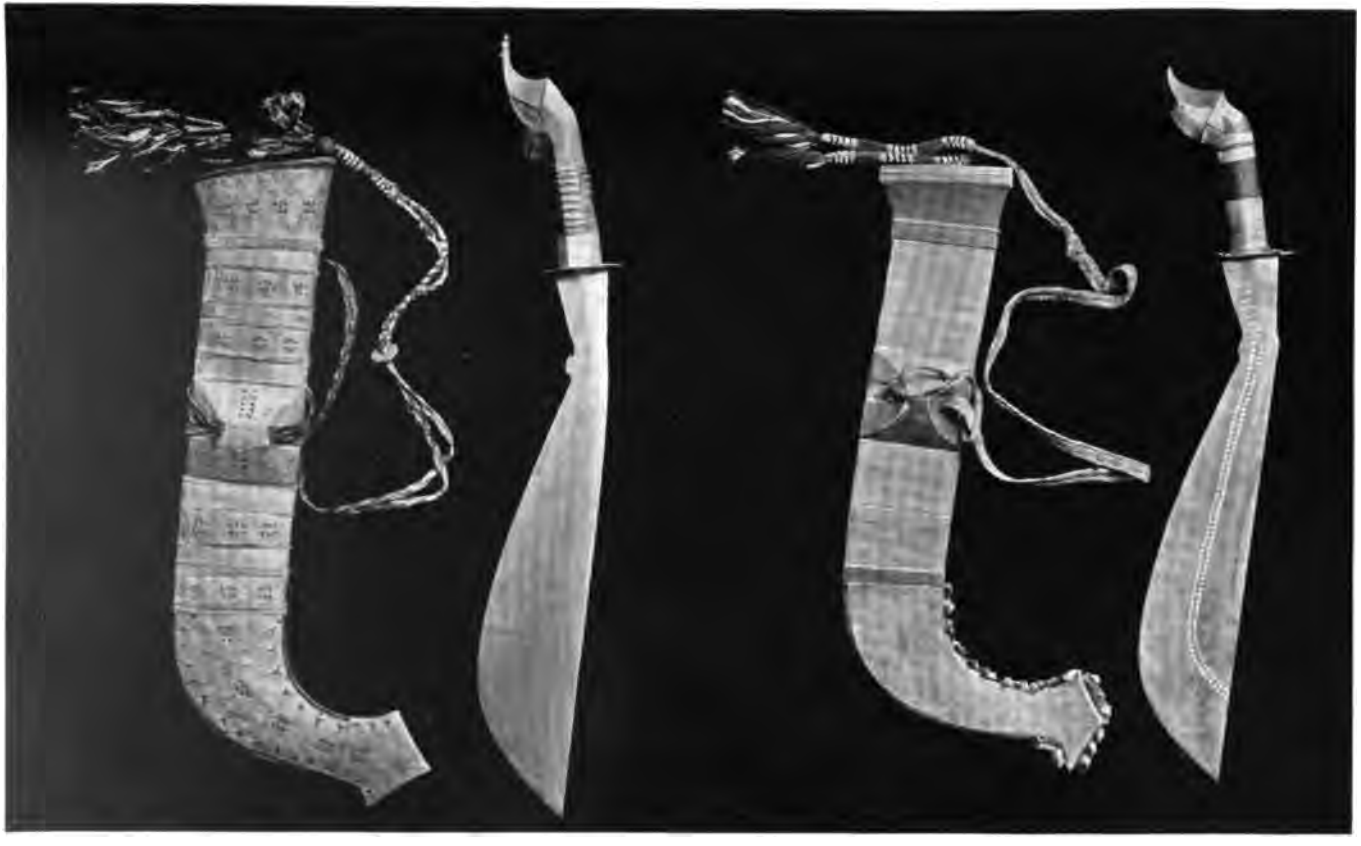
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

DWELLINGS NEAR THE MAYO RIVER.

Digitized by Google

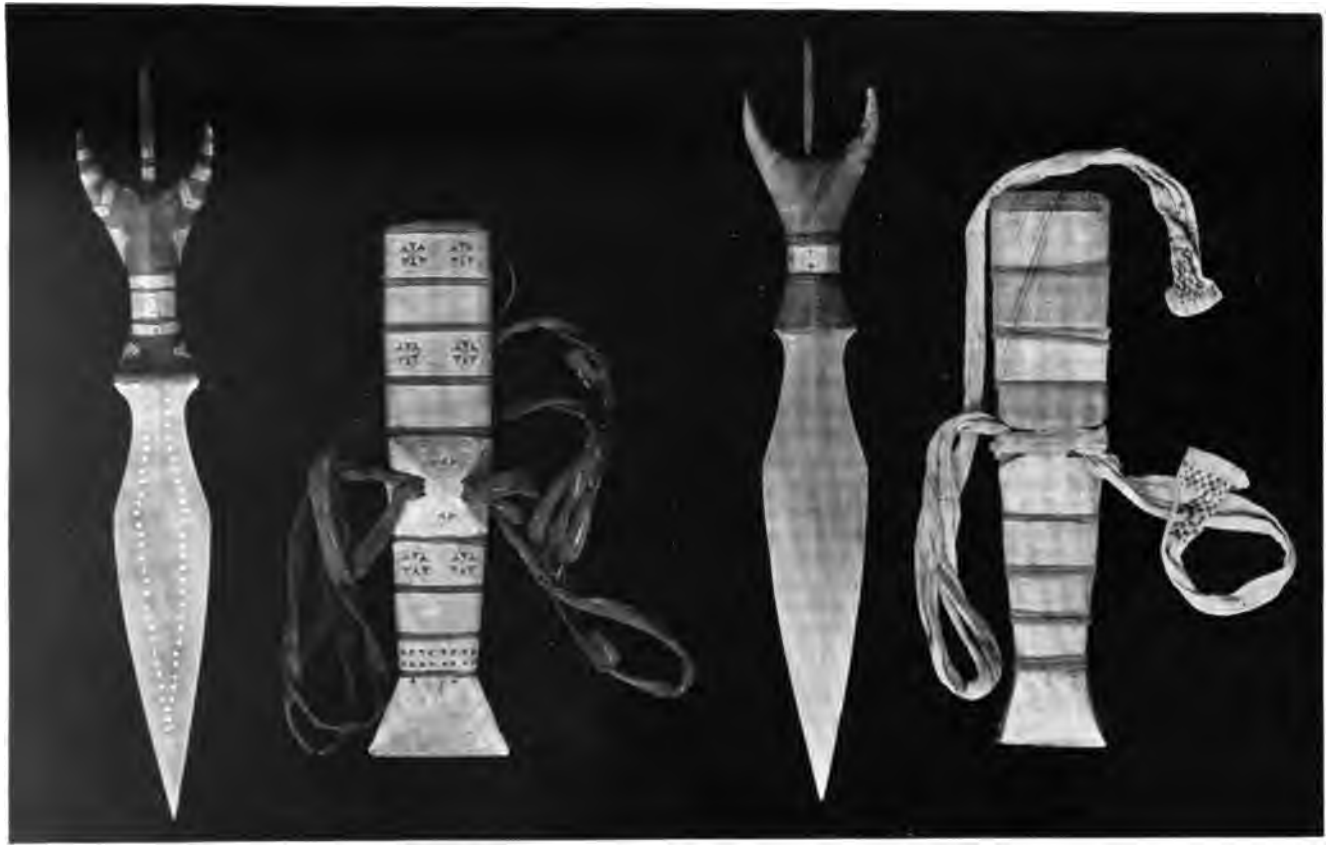
Digitized by Google



FIGHTING KNIVES AND SHEATHS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



DAGGERS (BAYADAU) CARRIED BY THE MEN. THE SHEATHS ARE OVERLAID WITH SILVER.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

PAGE

List of Illustrations III
Introduction 49
I. The Bagobo 51
Habitat 51
Number 51
Influence of Neighbors; History 52
Physical Type 56
Dress—Personal Adornment 57
Sketch of Fundamental Religious Beliefs 61
Dwellings—Household Utensils 63
Other Buildings 67
Food and its Preparation 68
Hunting and Fishing 72
Occupations 74
Transportation and Trade 90
Warfare 92
Social Organization 95
Laws, Property and Inheritance 98
Birth 99
Marriage 101
Sickness and Death 103
Beliefs concerning the Soul, Spirits, Oracles and Magic 105
Music, Dances and Ceremonies 109
Decorative Art 121
Mythology 125
Other Branches of the Tribe 128
II. The Bila-an 129
III. The Kulaman 149
IV. The Tagakaōlo 158
V. The Atá 162
VI. The Mandaya 165
Habitat 165
Description 166
Clothing 167
History 169

Digitized by Google

VI. The Mandaya—Continued. PAGE
Mythology and Religion ... 172
Spirits ... 175
The Tungud Movement ... 179
Social Organization ... 180
Dwellings ... 182
Agriculture ... 184
Hunting and Fishing ... 186
Warfare ... 187
Industries ... 190
Birth ... 191
Marriage ... 192
Sickness and Death ... 193
Decorative Art ... 195
Conclusion ... 200

Digitized by Google

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

TEXT FIGURES

		PAGE
1.	Shell bracelet	57
2.	Necklace of rattan overlaid with fern and orchid cuticle	57
3.	Brass anklets worn by the women	58
4.	Brass bracelets	58
5.	Ear stretchers	59
6.	Woman's ear plugs	60
7.	Pubic shields	61
8.	The "stove"	64
9.	Bamboo plate rack	64
10.	Rice mortar and pestle	65
11.	Cocoanut shell spoon	65
12.	Tambara	66
13.	Rice winnower	69
14.	Lime and tobacco tubes	71
15.	Spears used in fighting and hunting	72
16.	Chicken snare and carrying case	72
17.	Bow and arrows	73
18.	Blow gun and darts	73
19.	Bamboo fish trap	75
20.	Fish spear	76
21.	Fish lure	76
22-24.	Types of weaving used in basketry	77
25.	Cocoanut scraper	78
26.	Stages in the manufacture of metal bells	81–2
27.	Hemp machine	84
28.	Sugar cane press	84
29.	Rice planter	87
30.	Carrying frame	91
31.	Front and back of decorated shield	93
32.	Round shield	93
33.	*Taw-gaw* or bamboo guitar	110
34.	Realistic patterns in beads and shell disks	123
35.	Cooking pot and cover	131
36.	Women's combs	134

Digitized by Google

PAGE
37. Ear Plugs 135
38. Bows and arrows from Lake Buluan region 141
39. Bows and arrows in common use 142
40. Pitch stick 142
41. Embroidered designs 147
42. Designs on men's clothing 148
43. Portion of a hemp cloth pillow cover 151
44. Basket with infitting top 151
45. Man's knife and sheath 154
46. Bamboo trumpet 156
47. Men's hats 168
48. Woman's comb 169
49. Ear plugs 169
50. Gourd rice holder 185
51. Bird snare 186
52. Wooden shields 188
53. Silver breast ornaments 191
54. Designs representing the human form 194
55. Crocodile designs 196
56. Crocodile design 197
57. Design used in weaving 197
58. Designs on a bamboo lime holder 198
59. Clothes hanger 198
60-61. Embroidered figures on jackets and carrying bags 199
62. Tobacco pouches 199

PLATES

I. Tribal map of Davao District ..... Frontispiece
II. Bagobo youth wearing the prized ivory ear plugs.
III. The men retain their long hair in place with decorated head bands.
IV. Many strands of beads surround the necks of the men.
V. The features of some of the men approach those of the Negrito.
VI. Bagobo woman wearing the customary hair and neck ornaments.
VII. A typical Bagobo woman.
VIII. Although the hair is oiled and combed straight back, stray locks are continually creeping out.

Digitized by Google

IX. The clothing worn by both sexes is decorated with beads, shell disks, and embroidery.

X. A group of women in gala dress.

XI. (a) In lieu of pockets, the men carry decorated hemp-cloth bags on their backs.
(b) The coming and passing generations.
(c and d) Customary dress of the children.

XII. (a) A youth having his teeth cut to points.
(b) The mutilated teeth.

XIII. In house-building, the roof is made first and is then raised to the desired height.

XIV. Farm house with rice granary in the foreground.

XV. Home of Datu Tongkaling.

XVI. (a) A house in Bansalan.
(b) Bamboo fence surrounding a clearing.

XVII. (a) Brass boxes in which betel-nut, leaves and lime are carried.
(b) Small mortars and pestles used in crushing betel-nut.

XVIII. Wooden decoy used in hunting doves.

XIX. Tobacco boxes carried by the men.

XX. Woman stripping the hemp which is to be used for weaving.

XXI. Overtying the warp threads before dyeing.

XXII. (a) Dried Hemp.
(b) Overtied warp threads ready to be colored.
(c) Dyed threads with overtying removed.
(d) Colored threads ready for the loom.

XXIII. Weaving.

XXIV. Polishing the cloth.

XXV. Manufacture of the *magani's* headband:
(a) Overtied cloth.
(b) The colored headband.

XXVI. (a and b) Knife and carved stick used in decorating "Job's tears.
(c) Necklace made of the carved seeds.

XXVII. Brass workers' forge at Cibolan.

XXVIII. Bracelet makers at work.

XXIX. (a and b) Men's working knives and sheaths.
(c) Small knife used by both sexes.
(d) Woman's knife.

Digitized by Google

XXX. (a) Playing the *agongs*.
(b) The *kodlo̱n̤* or native guitars.
XXXI. Man's suit decorated with beads, shell disks, and appliqué.
XXXII. Fighting knives.
XXXIII. (a) Sheathes for the fighting knives.
(b) Sheathes for the small working knives.
XXXIV. (a) Bamboo basket woven in two colors. The central rim design is identified as a crocodile.
(b) The basket rim has been decorated by sewing in designs with fern cuticle.
XXXV. (a) Decorated tobacco boxes. The front of specimen is inlaid with yellow orchid cuticle.
(b) Wooden tops of tobacco boxes inlaid with beads
XXXVI. Trinket baskets carried by the women.
XXXVII. Typical specimens of weaving in hemp cloth.
XXXVIII. Center panel in woman's hemp cloth skirt.
XXXIX. Beaded bags which the men carry on their backs.
XL. Men's carrying bags decorated with beads, embroidery and appliqué.
XXLI. (a) No. 1—Brass betel-nut box made by the Moro
No. 2—Same of Bagobo manufacture.
(b) Tops of the same boxes.
XLII. A Bila-an *lEbE*.
XLIII. Bila-an man wearing wooden ear plugs.
XLIV. Bila-an from the Maal river.
XLV. Bila-an laborers on an American plantation.
XLVI. Women of Labau.
XLVII. (a) Woman in typical Bila-an dress.
(b) Bila-an woman on a coast plantation.
XLVIII. Ordinary dress of the women.
XLIX. (a) The houses are perched on the hill tops, far above the rivers.
(b) Home of Datu Dialum.
L. (a) Mountain-side clearing and residence.
(b) A clearing in the jungle.
LI. Men's hats decorated with chicken's feathers.
LII. A *lawig*.
LIII. Securing sago.

Digitized by Google

LIV. (a and b) Fronts of carved shields.
(c) Back of a shield. In the upper third is carved a hunting scene, showing a man with his spear and dog about to attack a crocodile.

LV. Knives used by the men both for work and defense.

LVI. Front and back of a man's jacket completely covered with embroidered designs. Forms representing the crocodile appear on the left shoulder and both sleeves.

LVII. Front and back of a man's jacket.

LVIII. (a and b) Men's trousers decorated with embroidery and shell disks.
(c) Boy's trousers. The decoration is secured by oversewing the cloth before dyeing.

LIX. Women's jackets, showing typical decoration.

LX. Specimens of Bila-an weaving.

LXI. Kulaman men.

LXII. Kulaman women.

LXIII. Suit worn by a *mabolót*.

LXIV. Mandaya men.

LXV. Mandaya women.

LXVI. Woman wearing the most prized ornaments of the tribe.

LXVII. Woman from the headquarters of the Mayo river.

LXVIII. Waterproof trinket boxes are carried by the women.

LXIX. Customary dress of the men.

LXX. Bags, which serve as pockets, hang against the backs of the men.

LXXI. Arm ornaments.

LXXII. Caroline Island boat at Mayo Bay.

LXXIII. Mandaya tree dwelling.

LXXIV. Dwellings near the Mayo river.

LXXV. Fighting knives and sheathes.

LXXVI. Daggers carried by the men. The sheathes are overlaid with silver.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

OC.IND. C 674 w
The wild tribes of Davao district.
Tozzer Library AW15970
3 2044 043 179 696

This book should be returned to the Library on or before the last date stamped below.
Please return promptly.

~~MAR 2 4 1970~~
~~MAY 2 9 1970~~
TOZZ JUN 7 1977
CANCELLED
TOZZER LIBRARY
MAY 1 2 1988
JUN 1 0 1988
CANCELLED
TOZZER LIBRARY

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google